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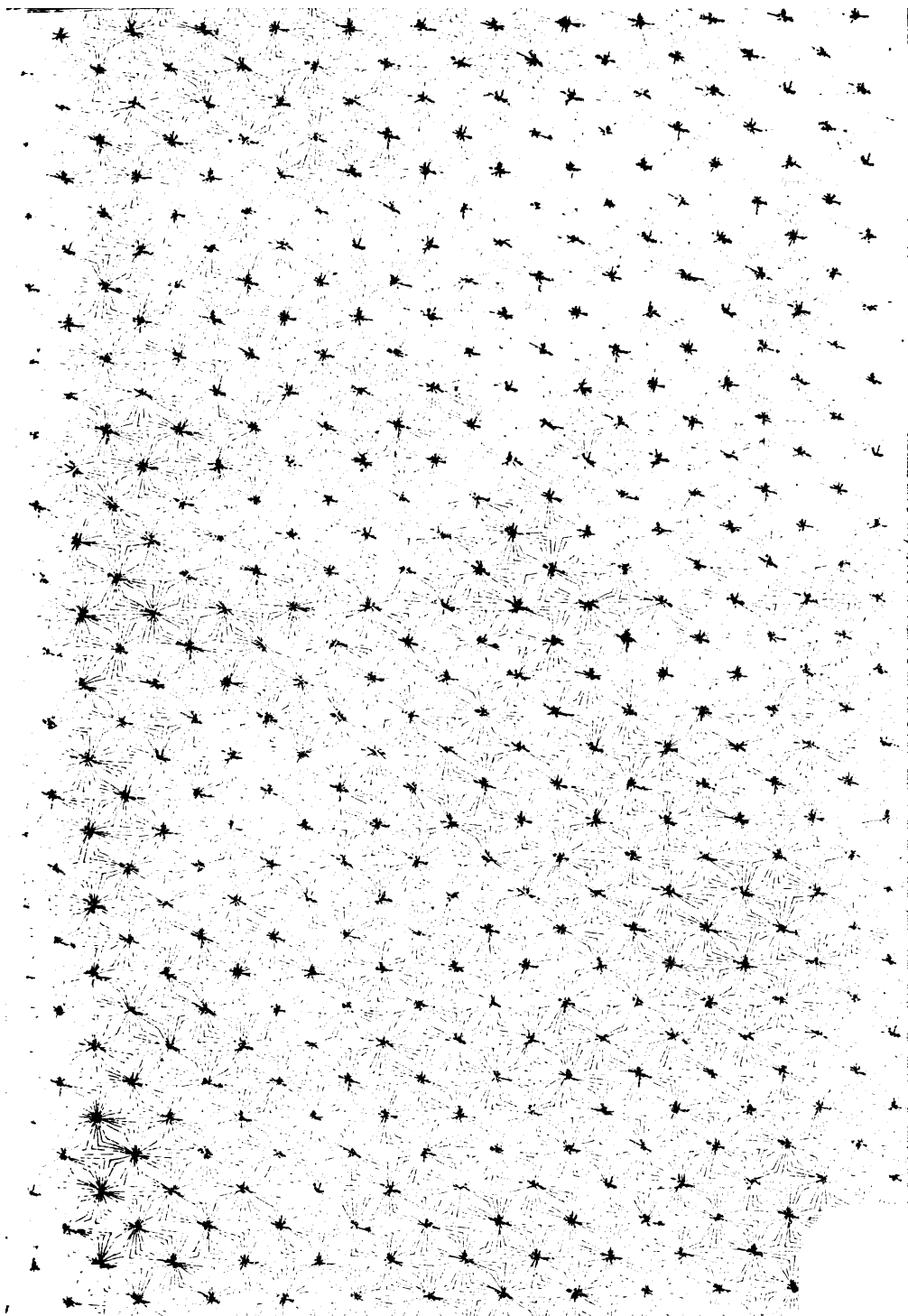
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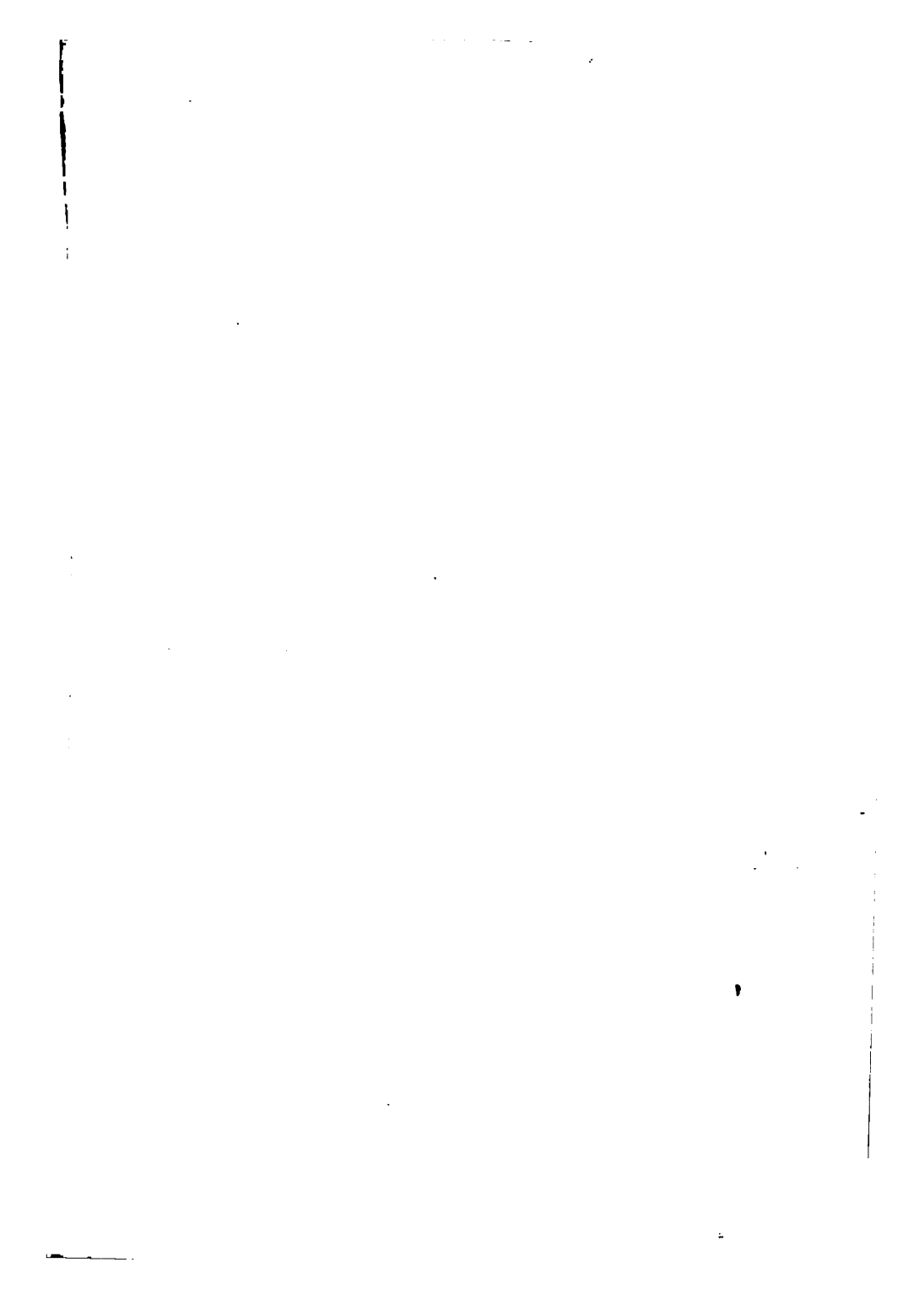


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SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BY

M. J. SAVAGE

BOSTON

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1886

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PREFACE.

A PREFACE is either a needed introduction to a book or a piece of useless formality.

To those who care to enter in here, the door is open. Those who do not care would be neither interested nor instructed by a preface.

The critic who prepares himself to review this by glancing at the title-page and the table of contents, and who remarks, "This book appears to be made up of a course of sermons, with all the limitations which such a method of treatment implies," will be, for once, correct. They are sermons, and spoken sermons, not written.

But, hoping they may still continue to preach, the author sends them on their way.

Boston, September, 1886.

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RELIGION FOR THIS WORLD

NOT long ago, a young lady attended one of the services of this church. She is English by birth, has resided in Germany, and is now in this country. She is well educated, although her education on the religious side is extremely ecclesiastical; and she has considered the question of entering some one of the church sisterhoods as her life vocation. After listening to the service as it is conducted here, she told a friend that she was very much interested; but she added, "Mr. Savage does not preach religion, does he?" Religion, according to her conception, was something technical, one side of life, a sort of fifth wheel to a coach instead of the driving power in an engine. Only a short time ago an intelligent lady attended a religious service in a neighboring city, and heard one of the leading Unitarians of Boston, who, in the course of his sermon, spoke the names of New York, Chicago, and other modern cities. The religious sensibilities of this lady were seriously shocked by such reference to modern towns as part of a religious service. If he had said Jerusalem or Damascus or Rome, all would have been well. But, after the service, she said to a friend, "I dislike such things very much in a sermon: it makes the whole service seem worldly to me." Worldly! What does worldly mean? She had never learned that it was just this conventionalism, of which she was a living illustration, that Jesus condemned under the name "worldliness." It was

just such formalism of the religious life, which was aside from ordinary human interests, which did not grapple with the realities of the time, this conformity to the fashionable world, which Jesus meant by worldliness. Jesus himself talked of the cities of his time, of Chorazin and Jerusalem and Nazareth; and he talked of the doings and the interests, private and public, of the people of his time, and seemed to think that just here was the very field for religion.

The remark has come to me a good many times in different ways that the discourses delivered in this church are not sermons so much as they are lectures. I wish, therefore, to consider what we are to understand by sermons, and what we are to mean by religion. While on the one hand there is this conception of religion which makes it reside in rituals, in formalism, in robes and special phrases and services, there is, on the other hand, a large and increasing body of people that we designate by the term "the masses," that are losing their interest in religion, as they understand it. They have ceased, perhaps, to believe in a future life at all. At any rate, they are weary of having the Church tell them that it is their duty to bear all the ills of life patiently without attempting to improve themselves; to look for redress and happiness in some supposititious other sphere of existence. They have lost, if not their faith in another world, their belief that any priesthood or any church holds exclusive control of the question as to what their destiny shall be in that future world. So they are coming more and more to let religion alone,—religion as defined by these people to whom I have referred, religion as they themselves have come to understand it.

Religion used to mean something that took hold of the common daily life of man. Religion used to be the most important of all human interests. Go back toward the dawn

of human civilization ; go to Egypt, go to Greece, go to Rome, go to the old Aryans in India, go to our German forefathers, and you will find that religion covered and laid its hand upon every department and every phase of human thought, feeling, and activity. It was the guide of life ; it was its food and drink ; it was the solver of life's problems. It helped men, or they supposed it did, in the midst of the hard battle for existence ; and on it they placed all hopes for future good. One of those ancient men could not rise in the morning, he could not put on his clothes, he could not eat his breakfast, he could not wash his teeth, he could not take a drink of water, he could not go out from his own door, he could not step upon the street, he could not enter upon his daily avocation, except he accompanied all these common acts by religious services of one kind or another. Religion was everything ; and religion must again be everything, unless it is to become nothing,—one of the two. Which shall it be ?

I stand this morning on the threshold of a discussion of a series of great problems that touch human life and human well-being here on earth. Am I not to be preaching when I am doing this, or am I to be delivering lectures ? Am I to be treating secular topics, or dealing first-hand with the religious life of man ? This is a critical and important question. I have my own very strong opinions upon it ; and I am anxious that you should see things as I do, and agree with me about them. I therefore propose as my morning's theme the discussion of the questions :—

What is a sermon ? What is religion ? Let us treat the less important one first, and then come to the greater.

Is it necessary that a sermon have a text from some supposed sacred book ? How many people think it is not a sermon at all without a text ! Yet a text is a very modern

device. A text belongs to the age of tradition, repetition. The early fathers, the apostles, Jesus himself, did not preach from texts. In the creative eras of the world, when men believed in a living God speaking to their living hearts, they gave utterance to that word, not to the repetition of words somebody else had uttered. This dependence on words and phrases means not the life, the essence, the heart, but the decay of religion. Does it depend upon the subject-matter of the sermon? If I should spend three-quarters of an hour in discussing the dress of the high priest in ancient Jerusalem, some people would think I was preaching a sermon. When I discuss practical labor questions, growing out of dress in the modern world, they think I am "lecturing." If I should discuss the building of Solomon's temple, the cutting of the cedars for it, the assistance which Hiram rendered, the workers in brass and carvers in wood, the hewers of stone, and such details, I should be preaching a sermon. If I discuss the business of the builders and contractors of the modern world as it touches the life of the nineteenth century, I am "lecturing." What is this discussion? Is it a sermon? Because I use names and words and phrases that have been written down in antique books, that do not touch in any vital way the life of man here and now in Boston, and because I repeat, parrot-like, what some living preacher said in his day, is that preaching? Or is it lecturing, if I attempt to give utterance to the living voice of what I believe to be the divine spirit of this hour?

What is the distinction—for there is one, and a vital one—between a sermon and a lecture? Suppose I should, this morning, give a discourse on the discovery of steam power, the invention of the steam-engine and its development, from the hands of Watt and Stephenson and their successors, until it has come to be what it is to-day,—if I did

that, and stopped there, I should give you a lecture. If, however, I discussed the power of steam and the inventions that have accompanied it ; if I discussed its power as related to the social, moral, and spiritual well-being of man, and showed how that bears on the past history, the progress, the uplifting of the world,—then I should be preaching God's truth, if I were right in the opinions to which I gave utterance. It is not, then, the subject-matter of the discourse which makes the difference between a lecture and a sermon. It is the spirit, the aim, the way we take these truths and facts, and give them a religious power over the lives of men, not merely treating them for their own sake. This is the distinction, and one that seems vital to me, between the sermon and the lecture.

Now let us consider the question, What is religion? I wish at the outset to outline two or three conceptions of religion that were well enough in their day, that were even necessary steps of human development, man being what he is, but that are now antiquated and outgrown, and do not any longer stand in any vital relation to human development.

There is, first, the conception of religion which was held by the young lady to whom I referred at the outset,—a religion that is connected with a particular building, with a particular form and type of service. To illustrate: a lady at the seashore this summer, in reply to a friend who came from an ordinary religious service, saying that she had been to church, remarked, "I hope you do not call that a church." What did she mean? She had been to a meeting-house. She had joined in singing hymns, in saying prayers, and in listening to a sermon; but she had not been to church! She had had nothing to do with religion, as the lady understood it. Religion to her was this technical, peculiar thing, connected with a certain style of church archi-

ture, stained windows and rituals. The out-door light, as God makes it, is secular : when it comes through painted windows, it is dimly religious. The religion of the prayer-book, the religion of robes and rituals, of certain prayers and phrases,—this alone, in the minds of a great many people, stands for religion. And if these are absent they seem to have lost the flavor that made it divine.

Look at another type. There are thousands of people still — and this used to be very common, almost universal — who think of God as outside of natural law, as in no way having any vital relation to it ; as interfering in a spasmodic, intermittent fashion, manifesting himself in special ways, but as no part of the real, living universe, which they look upon as mechanism. They think of him as connected with it in some unnatural, supernatural, irregular, out-of-the-ordinary way. The whole purpose of religion, according to these persons, is an effort, or scheme, or set of arrangements by which to bridge over this gulf of separation and come into contact and relation with God : to appease his anger if he is angry, to win his favor if he is indifferent,—in short, to get into right relation with him, on the supposition that we are not in vital relation with him in our ordinary daily living. This theory of religion confines God to the regions of the unusual, the mysterious, the unknown.

As illustrating what I mean : when Newton discovered the law of gravitation, one of the common charges against him by the ecclesiastics of the time was that he had taken the universe out of the hands of God and put it into the keeping of law, this law being, to their thinking, a sort of natural force with which God had nothing to do. If you could account for the movements of the sun by the law of gravitation, God was no longer needed, and was being dethroned from his position of supremacy over the universe.

That was the theory ; and so we find in the ancient world, when there was an eclipse of the sun and moon, it was thought that God was interfering. There was a religious tinge about that. But the ordinary shining of the sun and moon was secular and commonplace. An earthquake was caused by divine interference ; but the ordinary ongoing of the world—the coming of the seasons, the growth of crops, all the wonder and glory of nature—was common and secular. So with regard to disease. If a man who was sick was cured by the waters of the pool of Bethesda, by the waters of Lourdes, by coming in contact with the bones of a saint, by prayer, by the anointment with oil on the part of a priest,—this was religious. If he got well of himself or was cured by an ordinary physician, in an ordinary way, that was purely secular. When he was dealing with the laws of health in an intelligent manner, he was having nothing to do with God, but only with nature. And so people have separated their religious life from their secular in their families and in their business.

Now, if religion resides in the extraordinary, the unusual, that which is not yet understood, then religion is doomed to die. For every single step made by the scientific intelligence of man is narrowing fatally this sphere of religion ; and, just as soon as we get to understand life, God will be dead and religion made an end of, on that theory.

Take one more popular conception of religion. Large numbers of people consider religion especially confined to the devices by which they suppose themselves to secure future salvation for the soul in another world. The only end and aim of religion, they seem to think, is to get to heaven and to escape the other place. Anything that does not bear on this—any book, any discourse, any prayer, any ritual, any service of any kind—has nothing to do with

religion in any vital way. This has sprung up naturally out of the old conceptions of the world. The first gods that men worshipped were the spirits of their ancestors; and, when these ancestors came to be thought of as kings in the other world, as controlling the destinies of those who followed them there, and when people came to think of how small a part of life is that which they live here, that eternity is so much more, then naturally the emphasis of religion was placed over yonder, and, so far as men had anything to do with it here, it was only an attempt to secure their welfare over there.

Now, these are three conceptions of religion which have borne sway in the past, and which bear a traditional sway in the minds of thousands of people in the modern world. Let us see how naturally they have sprung up, and how necessary they have been as steps in human progress. I have just mentioned what I believe to be a universal truth,—that the earliest form of religion was a worship of the spirits of the dead, that these were the first gods of the race. They believed that the father, or the chief, after he had departed, was still alive, though invisible, and that he still had power over their welfare, their prosperity. Many of these chieftains were mighty and cruel. So, in many cases, the people were afraid of their god. Fear played a much larger part than did trust and love in all the earlier religions. They had learned through the priesthood, and, as they believed, by divine revelation in the past, of certain rites, services, ceremonies, offerings, which they believed had power to appease the wrath or win the favor of these deities. The religion of the ancient world is taken up almost exclusively with these formal rites and services. They had no necessary connection with the state of heart of the worshipper, no necessary connection with his moral character or conduct as

related to his fellow-men. A man might render an acceptable service to one of these chieftains, sing praise to him, bring offerings, and yet hate him in his heart. This chieftain was supposed to take no cognizance of this fact. We find through the classic literature of Greece and Rome that the whole of religion was the performance of these services, the offering of sacrifices and going through rituals. This was perfectly natural in that childish stage of the world's development. Of course, these gods had no connection with the ordinary ongoing of human affairs. Jupiter was up on Olympus. He could come down and interfere, if he desired. By prayers or by a sufficient amount of offerings, he could be induced to come to human assistance. If one had done something, either purposely or unintentionally, to offend him, the priests had ways by which the wrath of Jupiter could be placated ; but, ordinarily, he was disassociated from the things of the world. He only came in at times to interfere. Here was the next step of religious development,—this interference, this intermittent relation with the world. Then, growing out of this, came the imaginative enlargement of the next world, until that absorbed all human thought and endeavor. This world was overshadowed by it, and became of very little account. We see, then, that these three steps were perfectly natural. In the early days, men believed that by these services and by this offering of sacrifices and paying of divine honors they could actually control, compel, coerce even, the divinities to come to their aid ; and in ancient literature we find intimations of attempts on the part of the gods to get themselves free from these bonds. The old Hindu devotee could pile up his virtue to such an extraordinary degree that the gods became afraid of him, and even sent temptations to him to break down his virtue, and so set themselves free from his controlling

power. These three steps, then, of religious development, have been perfectly natural; but, to the scholarship, the clear head, and the fearless heart of the modern world, they are outgrown. You and I do not believe them. I do not, by any manner of means, say that we are entirely to disuse all religious formalism, words, phrases, services. These are right and just, in so far as they are alive and represent living emotion of living men; but they are of no worth in themselves apart from this. We believe still that God is in the intermittent and irregular, the mysterious and unknown; but we do not believe that he is exclusively there. We believe that he is also in the ordinary and the common. So the dividing line between the sacred and the secular as thus defined is obliterated: our God is everywhere.

We believe that God is King of the future world, and that our welfare there depends on the relation in which we stand to him,—I believe it, at least, with my definitions of these things; but he is not exclusively there. Neither is it the exclusive end and object of life to secure the welfare of our soul in that future world; nor is it the most important part of life. We have come to believe that the man who is in right relation to God in one part of the universe cannot be out of right relation to him in another part. So there is no salvation in a future world, if a man is not saved here,—except that he has the same chance to begin the process of salvation in one part of the universe that he has in another. But I care not how religious a man may be, or through what services he may have gone, how many times he may have received extreme unction, how many times he may have received the blessings of priests, if five minutes before death he is not fit to live, five minutes after death you cannot convince me that he is a saint in the presence of God. It is the same law, the same universe, here and over there.

Now, then, what is our conception of religion to-day? Have we lost God? We are just finding him. We are not yet half waked up to his nearness, his intimate, his universal presence. Where is God? What kind of a universe is this? Human science has demonstrated that the materialistic theory is unscholarly, beneath the contempt of any true scholar, having not one rational word to say for itself. The last word of the best scholarship of the world is that this universe is pulsating, throbbing, thrilling with life from the most distant star to the least grain of sand that you tread beneath your feet. There is no such thing as a dead universe. It is a living universe everywhere. The cold marble on which you tread thrills with life, just as much as the stars revolving in the heavens. Nothing is quiescent; nothing is still; nothing is dead. And the ether, penetrating all interplanetary space, visible and invisible, is threaded by living lines of divine force and power; and it is all one and all divine. This division between secular and sacred, where is it in view of such a thought of the world as this? The farmer, as he ploughs the soil, and sows his seed and tends it, and waits for the harvest, is dealing first-hand with God a thousand times more than the person who goes through the thoughtless mummeries of prayer with no heart in them. The sailor or the ship-builder, who constructs the hull of his vessel in accordance with the laws of navigation, constructs it in accordance with God's laws. That is what it means. He uses God's power of gravitation in pushing it off the ways; and it is God's power in the waves that lifts it up and bears it on, God's power in the winds that blows it on its course. Or, if he uses steam, it is God's power in the steam that beats and throbs against the force of wind and tide. So he who builds his machinery on the banks of a stream, using the power of God's water, as under the force

of God's gravitation it comes dancing down God's mountains and through God's meadows into the sea, is dealing first-hand with the real life and power of the divine. You cannot escape it. Feel your pulse, and you feel the throb of the infinite life. Look into the eyes of your most intimate friend, and you see a spark of the infinite intelligence, a thrill of the infinite love.

Where is God? Where is he not? If you climb up into the heavens, he is there. If you descend into the deeps, he is there. If you take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, he is there. He besets you behind and before, and lays his hand upon you. The whole universe, then, is not becoming secular because it is understood. It is becoming religious because it is understood.

Now, what kind of honor does this God require at the hands of his creatures? Is he sitting up somewhere in the heavens, pleased, as the Jews thought he was, by the smell of burnt animals rising up into the sky? Is he pleased when we sing him hymns to tell him what a great and glorious being he is? Is he pleased by the adulation of formal worship, that to some people is all there is in religion? What kind of a God have we? Is he only a great man upon a great throne? It is only a barbaric chieftain who is pleased with that kind of flattery. If he were even a great man, he would be disgusted by it. No true man likes to be told that he is great and wondrous, and the best person that ever lived. True manliness has contempt for that sort of thing. Shall we think God is not quite so good as the noblest type of unselfish man? The only way we can honor, praise, glorify the God of the modern world, is by an earnest, simple, true study of his laws and by obedience to them, recognizing their goodness, feeling thrilled with admiration of them, and lifted up by them into a nobler life.

Where is the infallible Bible of our modern world? A part of it, some noble sentences of it, are in this book. But is that all? Every truth that has ever shone out of the heavens or sprung out of the earth; every truth that has ever come through the brain or heart of man in any age, in any part of the world, under any name,—is a revelation of this infinite divine life. That is God's word. And, just so fast and so far as we can verify anything as true, we have received one new sentence of the divine revelation begun in the distant past, still in progress, and never to be completed in the heart or thought of humanity, unless the finite can grow to the stature and measure of comprehending the infinite.

Where are your sacraments for a God like this? They are in any vows or any services that bind us to true thinking, noble feeling, and right living. Where is your true service for a God like this? Does he want any offering of cattle? Does he want us to pour out wine upon the ground at the beginning of our feast? Does he want us to give him our children in human sacrifice? Does he need anything that we can bring and place upon his altar? All these conceptions of service have been maintained for ages in the past; but God is himself the All. What can we give him except our adoration, our genuine love, our heartfelt gratitude, our service? How can we serve him? By seeking to help his children not so fortunate as we; in helping to make the world cleaner, sweeter, more intelligent, better to live in. This is the service that we can render.

Now, where is the field for a religion fitted to the conception of a God like this? Where, except right here? This religion comes to the individual, lays its hand upon him, and whispers in his ear the word of duty. What is that duty? To study and obey the laws of God so far as they concern man's individual life, until the ideal humanity is reached in

body, brain, and spirit. It comes and knocks at the door of every household, and utters its command of duty to the family, that, in the light of human experience, of the best knowledge that we can attain, we order our social relations so that they shall tend to purify and beautify the world. This conception of religion comes to the office of every business man, and utters its command; and what is it? Be honest, fair, and just in the transaction of your business, so that the persons you deal with shall be helped, and not hurt by it. Make business a part of the religious elevation of the world. Instead of a system of scheming and chicanery and outdoing one another, bring business into accord with the divine life of things. It comes to politics, and knocks at the doors of conventions and stands in the halls of Congress; and what does it say there? It says, Order your political affairs, so far as they bear on the citizen, in such a way that justice shall be subserved, in such a way that human well-being shall be reached, not that this people shall be lifted up at the expense of treading down another, but that humanity shall be made a little better. It comes to every manufacturer, to the employers of labor, and to the payer of wages; and what does it say to them? Regulate all these affairs of life, manage the mighty power of your capital, not to crush out the hearts and lives of those who work for you, to get as much service as you can, without regard to their moral, spiritual, or physical welfare, not treating them as horses are treated on street-railroad lines,—getting as much out of them as possible, and then flinging them away,—but treat them as men, treat them so that there shall be justice and fairness in the relations maintained with them, and that they shall be helped to be better men as well as better cogs in the machine. It says to the laborer, Be just, be faithful, be fair to your employer, to your fellow-

laborers, your fellow-aspirants after situations, opportunities to earn bread to feed, and houses to shelter, their families. Do good work, honest work. Better your own condition in such a way that the condition of the whole race shall be bettered at the same time.

The sphere of religion, then, in the modern world, is here,—in Boston, in New York, in London, in Paris, in Vienna, in Berlin, in St. Petersburg. It is no longer in ancient Jerusalem, no longer by the pool of Bethesda, no longer by the lake of Galilee. Those inspired by the spirit of God to speak his word there dealt with the facts of life then. Those who dare to speak for God to-day should deal with the facts of life to-day.

It is the business of religion to lay the foundation and build the superstructure of the city of God. They tell us that in this nineteenth century we build no longer the city of God, but the city of man. Granted. What is the kingdom of man? According to the conception of God and of divine life, which we as intelligent men must perforce cherish, the city of God, the kingdom of God, is the city of man, the kingdom of man. The perfect condition of man is a perfect reconciliation of human life, in all its departments, with the laws of God. And, when we have wrought this, death means walking through a door, not out of the presence of God, not past a sphere of probation into a series of fixed finalities; it means going out of one room of God's house into another, with the same opportunity for rendering the same service, so far as it is needed, as was rendered here.

THE SOCIAL DREAM

ONE of the most striking things about this commonplace human nature of ours is the fact that, in all ages, whatever the actual condition of the people at the time, they have always been dominated by a dream of some perfect condition. Man is the only being on earth, so far as we know, that is haunted by an ideal. If we should discover some one of the lower order of animals looking about the world, speculating on his present nature and condition, speculating on the condition of affairs outside himself, and dreaming of something better to be attained, either by miracle coming out of the skies or through his own efforts, how suddenly, how wonderfully, should we change our conception of that animal! Just this one fact, that man is a dreamer, separates him by what appears now to be an impassable gulf from all the lower orders of the world.

People have always been telling themselves wonder stories,—fairy tales of some nobler, finer condition of things, either in the past or in the future, even though they were apparently stagnated at the time, making no effort to attain that condition. This contentment of the age at any particular period of the world's history has found its explanation very largely in the fact that they have expected this better thing to be wrought upon them and for them by an outside power, instead of achieving it for themselves.

My present purpose is to treat some of these social dreams of the world, as they have manifested themselves first among the people of antiquity, and then as they exist to-day. This will lead us on to some considerations looking toward the problems that we are to consider in the coming discourses.

Ancient man waked up to the consciousness of himself and of the world he lived in, and found himself face to face with certain things that did not seem to him to be a natural and necessary part of his life. He looked about, and saw disease, pain, hunger, cold, oppression, cruelty, labor, fear, vice, crime, death. All these things that have made life a burden, that have been weights on human hearts, that have been puzzles for human thought, seemed to ancient man as though they could not have been the original condition of affairs. He felt the difference between the facts as they were and what seemed to him ought to be the facts. He had already forgotten, if he had ever known, about his own origin and the condition of his ancestors; and so there was free room and range for fancy to create a primeval world in accordance with its own ideals. Thus, we find that almost all the ancient nations of the world dreamed that the earth started as a paradise, as a perfect condition of things, and that out of that, through some process, generally by the machination of some spirit who was opposed to the deity that they looked upon as the object of their worship, they had been driven; there had been a fall, and they had therefore come down and out into the present disorderly earth.

Were there time this morning, I should like to give you quotations from the writers who have described the world's dreams of the past and the world's dreams of the future, the glories of earth's dawn. I shall, however, with two exceptions, be obliged to confine myself to hinting them in my own words.

I wish, first, to give you a quotation from Genesis, picturing the Jew's dream of the original condition of man:—

“And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And a river went out of Eden to water the garden.”

And in this garden there was no pain, no hunger, no oppressive labor, no disease, no death. It was the ideal blessedness of human society.

And now, to show that other nations, besides the Jews, had this dream of a perfect condition of things, let me read to you a prose translation from a fragment of Hesiod, an old Greek poet who lived near the time of Homer. He says:—

“In the original condition of the world, men lived like gods, without vices or passions, vexations or toil. In happy companionship with divine beings, they passed their days in tranquillity and joy, living together in perfect equality, united by mutual confidence and love. The earth was more beautiful than now, and spontaneously yielded an abundant variety of fruits. Human beings and animals spoke the same language, and conversed with each other. Men were considered mere boys at a hundred years old. They had none of the infirmities of age to trouble them; and, when they passed to regions of superior life, it was in a gentle slumber.”

This is the Greek dream of the original social condition of the world. The Latins cherished a similar ideal. They related how, before the hard facts of the iron age were upon them, Saturn, the beneficent god, lived on earth among men,

teaching them agriculture and the arts of peace ; and that there were no wars, no sorrows, no troubles of any kind.

But, somehow, all these things had faded away ; and men had fallen out of this original blessedness into the midst of the cruel, hard facts of the world as it was then. But they could not rest here ; and not having as yet discovered any way by which they could master the forces of the world, so that they could hope to produce some better condition of things themselves, they dreamed that the same miraculous power which had originally created men perfect would by and by appear again, and reproduce this dream as an actual fact.

You are familiar with the form which this dream took among the Hebrews. They believed that, when they were perfectly in accord with the will of Jehovah, when they kept his laws as they ought to and had satisfied all his demands, he would send them a king, a king born in the line of David, who should appear on the earth to reconstruct human society, and bring back once more the lost Eden of old. He was to be a Jew ; Jerusalem was to be the seat of his new kingdom ; and all nations were to be a part of this one perfect realm, united under this one divinely appointed Messiah. And the old rabbis drew marvellous pictures of the perfect and beautiful new order of things to which they looked forward. The productions of the earth were to be so bountiful, so magnificent, that no labor would be required, no toil be necessary. Wars and sorrows and evils of every kind were to cease from off the earth ; and men were to be as happy as if the original paradise had not been broken up and destroyed.

The Christians, inheriting this Jewish tradition, and believing that Jesus was this expected Messiah, only transferred this Jewish dream, placing it still in the future. But in the early Church, it was placed in the *immediate* future.

People in the time of Paul did not look forward as we do now to some better condition of things in a thousand years. They expected that at almost any time, "like a thief coming in the night," bursting through the heavens above them, there might come a vision of angels accompanying the returning Messiah, he who was to reproduce the dream of perfect society here on earth. This expectation of the coming Messiah was not given up for a thousand years. No: it has not been given up yet all over Christendom. About the end of the year 1000, all Europe was on tiptoe with expectation. It was believed that, as the first millennium came to its end, there would come with it also the end of the existing order of the world. Christ was to appear in the clouds, and reconstruct the earth. And to-day there are thousands and thousands of Christians still expecting this second advent. There are also thousands of Jews still expecting the coming of the Messiah,—not Jesus a second time, for they did not accept him as their Messiah; but their anointed one. As the ages have gone by, however, and there has appeared no sign of the Son of man in the heavens, a large part of the Church has given up the vision, or transferred it to a future state of existence. After death, all those who have been believers and faithful are to enter into this city that John saw in his vision, which is not to come down now out of the sky, but which, remaining in the skies, is to receive those who are translated into it, to be made citizens and sharers of its glory.

Some of those who look forward to the second advent of Jesus look only for the realization of this dream in another world. They do not at all believe that we are to bring about a better condition of human society by natural processes here on earth. They believe that the world is to grow worse and worse, that there is no use in trying to re-

construct the civil order, no use in trying to make the great mass of the world any better, but that, rather, we are on a downward grade, and things are to go on from bad to worse until a crisis is reached and the world is reconstructed. Some believe that this world that we inhabit to-day is to be purged and purified by fire, and then made the eternal abode of the blessed. Some of them believe that it is to be burned up and destroyed, and this coming kingdom is to be located in some other part of the universe: they speculate, but do not claim to know where.

Now, this dream of a perfect state of affairs in the future, to be brought about in some remarkable, supernatural way, is not confined to the Jews and Christians. The Hindus have for ages been expecting that in the fulness of time there would be another Avatar, an incarnation and appearance of the divine being, who would bring about a perfect condition of human affairs. This vision of the returning Messiah, the returning king and messenger from God, some one who has lived on earth before and is to come back again, has haunted the imagination of all peoples. Frederick Barbarossa has only slept: he is to come back again. King Arthur, at Avalon, waits the appointed time of his return. Even the American aborigines dream of their divinely sent Hiawatha, who, having been with them in the olden time, is to come back to drive away the evils of the world, and to give them once more the primitive and perfect paradise of barbarism. These are some hints of this social dream of a perfect world in the past, or to be brought about miraculously in the future.

Let us now take a step out of the ancient world into the modern. We have all given up,—by all, I mean those who are imbued with the modern scientific spirit, who are learned in regard to the origin of human society and the methods of

human progress,—have given up all these dreams of a perfect earth and man in the past. We believe that man started in animalism, that he has, inch by inch, come upward on the roadway of human advance, till he has reached the present condition of human civilization; and, on this theory, we do not need to invent any fiction of supernatural interference to account for the evils of this world. We feel the pressure of these evils just as much as the ancient world felt them, perhaps even more keenly; because along with the progress we have made there has come an increased sensibility to suffering, an increased perception of the imperfections about us. So, though the burdens are not so great, we are the less content to bear them. We feel the pressure of these evils; but we do not need to account for them in any other way than by studying the actual facts of the origin and development of man. Sin, pain, death, hatred, cruelty, oppression, labor, hunger, toil of every kind, are easily enough accounted for, when we remember where man started, and the steps by which he has come,—when we remember the efforts by which he is working out his destiny, when we remember his weakness, when we remember his animal inheritance of passion, when we remember his ignorance. Though we do not, then, have a dream of a perfect world or humanity in the past, we do feel the pressure of the present facts of the world; and we are dominated by even a greater, more magnificent ideal than any of those which the world has embodied in its beautiful dreams and fancies. Still, to-day, we look forward and upward; and we believe that in some way all these burdens that crush humanity are to be flung off, and we are to stand free, fearless, in the face of heaven, masters of the earth, recognizing the brotherhood of the race, and, in mutual co-operation, sympathy and love, working out a better condition of human society.

This modern dream of the world, as well as the ancient, has been also embodied in the world's literature. Plato describes his ideal Republic, in which he outlines many things that the conscience and heart of the world to-day would reject, yet which in their main features are noble. Augustine built up, within his beautiful City of God, an ideal of a new civil order erected on the crumbling ruins of the old Roman Empire. At a later day, Sir Thomas More pictured to us his ideal of Utopia, representing, during that wonderful age of the world's discoveries when this Western Continent was first revealed out of the mists that had hidden it for ages, a wonderful island whose people lived in an ideal condition. When we consider that he was a nobleman, a courtier, and a Catholic, and that he lived hundreds of years ago, this dream of his is something to raise our admiration, and call for almost unbounded praise.

We believe that this ideal of human society is something that can possibly be wrought out in the future. We have this social dream—that still flies us as we advance, luring us onward—still outlined on the dim horizon of the future, that makes us restless under present evils; and we are not true men, if we do not seek to attain it.

But how is this dream to be attained in the modern world? There are two or three methods that are proposed by different people. I wish to outline them in rough. I shall have occasion to treat them in detail by and by.

There are, first, those who believe that there is a law of human progress in society, impersonal so far as we are concerned, outside the efforts of any particular man or any particular people. The world, they think, is under some sort of necessity to make progress. So they believe that, though they fold their hands and do nothing, the world is somehow going to become better and better. There is just enough

truth in this idea to make it a dangerous error. There is no natural law of progress for any individual man or any especial people. There is no necessity that you progress. There are certain conditions of life and health, of well-being and prosperity; and the man who obeys them, whether he does it intelligently and on purpose or whether he does it blunderingly and by accident, gains the advantage of them, just as a ship is blown on its course at sea, if it falls into the current of winds and water, though the person in management be not a wise sailor. And the people which complies with these laws, forces, and conditions, will naturally survive and advance; while the man or people that disregards these laws must pay the penalty by becoming less and less, by losing power, by losing the advantages already gained, till, at last, the man or people will die out and disappear. It is as natural for a man or nation to go downward as upward. It all depends on the knowledge that you have of the conditions of human life and prosperity, and upon the question as to whether you are obedient to those laws and conditions. I do believe, indeed, in a divine law of advance; but it lifts up only those who keep it.

There is another class which believes that human progress, the social dream of the world, is to be wrought out under the influence of legislative forces, that it is a matter of social regulation. These people, it seems to me, overlook the fact that human nature has its individual characteristics, caprices,—the ignorance and imperfections of individual people. They seem to think that society can be made perfect by the rearrangement of imperfect units; but any social condition of the world at any stage of its progress in the past has been simply the total result of the individuals composing it. You cannot have a perfect

society under any arrangement, so long as it is made up of imperfect individuals.

This dream took shape about the time of the French Revolution, in the writings of Rousseau and his disciples. They taught that the one thing to do was to set people free from the unnatural restrictions of artificial society, to let them get back what they dreamed of as a state of nature. But it was a purely ideal man they were dealing with, not a man that ever existed and breathed this air and walked this earth. Man, in a pure and perfect state of nature, is a savage, a barbarian, not a civilized man. Civilization is the result of society. It needs something more than breaking down restrictions and cutting loose the bonds of law to realize this social dream.

On the other hand, many others believe that there is not enough regulation. While there is one school of social philosophers who think the evil is in over-regulation, these others, under the name of socialists of one and another kind, believe that what is needed is more regulation,—that the State must become the owner of all property, the employer of all labor, the agent of all production and distribution, and must touch individual life at every point possible, so as to produce this ideal condition.

Then there is a third class of those who cherish this social dream, and just as earnestly as the noblest and most enthusiastic minds. They believe that a perfect condition of things is not brought about in any of these ways, but only by a careful, patient, prolonged scientific study of human nature, of human history, and of the forces of the world with which men have to deal; that we are to discover thus the laws of life, individually, socially, and politically. And, although men are slowly to become wise enough to recognize these laws, when they do once fairly see them, and that they are

for their interest, then they will be inclined to keep them; and thus there will be a gradual growth toward the realization of this perfect human ideal. Scientists, some of them, dream quite as much as any of the most visionary of the antique world. If you think that all the wonder, all the vision, all the poetry of life is going out with the coming in of science; if you think that the scientist is necessarily a plodding kind of being, who holds only the most rational, coldest, calmest views about the possibilities of human progress,—then you have not read all the speculations that profess, at any rate, to be based on the discoveries of modern science. I wish to give you one specimen of this literature,—not that I at all agree with it, but—to show you that a man who does not believe at all in religion in the accepted sense of that word, a man who has no faith in any of the dreams of the past, who expects no outside help from any God, can still cherish a dream of the world's future that makes John's vision of the divine city coming down out of heaven seem almost commonplace and tame.

There was a very brilliant writer living only a few years ago, by the name of Winwood Reade, who published a book called *The Martyrdom of Man*. He believed that the progress of the world up to this time has been wrought out through untold toil and struggle and sacrifice; but he had very little hope that any of those who had helped to bring the world to its present condition would see any of the results of their efforts or from any future state of existence look down with satisfaction on their work. He had no immortality for those who had already died. What kind of a dream did he cherish concerning the possibilities of the world's future? He tells us that he confidently expects three wonderful discoveries: first, of some force to take the place of steam, not dependent on the limited

product of coal, but some power that cannot be exhausted,—some power that should be able to control the world and make man its complete and perfect master. Then he expected confidently the invention of some method, under the impulse of this force, of aerial navigation, by which distance and space should be abolished. All nations, then, should flow together, until the differences of race were blotted out and the world was one family. He looked for a method of travel, of locomotion, of carrying the products of the world, so that there should not be any possibility of famine or of want all round the world. Then he expected that there would be discovered, in the chemist's laboratory, a process of manufacturing foods without the trouble of planting and tilling fields and raising cattle, by which these are usually produced ; but enough to meet the wants of all the world would be manufactured *ad libitum*. He looked forward to a time when the dissensions of nations would be abolished, and government would be the work no longer of struggling factions and politicians, but of calm scientific committees, looking over the world's affairs and deciding what was for the best in every department. Then he tells us that he supposes by and by we shall discover some power, not only of wiping out all the diseases of the world, but of reconstructing these bodies of ours, so that we shall discover immortality, and death itself shall be abolished. Then, by purely scientific processes and methods, he looks forward to a time when men will be able to pass freely from planet to planet and world to world, being at home no longer on one little sphere, but at home in the universe. He says, further, that the work of the chemist in producing a gas in his laboratory is precisely the same, except for the difference in degree, as the work of the Creator in producing a world ; and he expects that some time this human race will be developed

until it possesses the power of creating worlds and systems, and so realizing that startling promise of the serpent in the Garden of Eden,—“Ye shall become as gods.” Here is the dream of a man, who claims to be a scientist, concerning the possibilities of humanity. I speak of it, to show that, because the dreams of the old religions fade out, the world does not cease dreaming.

We are haunted still by this ideal condition of men in the future, toward which every age struggles more and more. But there are certain people in the modern world—and I take it similar classes have always existed—who look very coldly upon any talk of disturbing the present order of affairs with the idea of making them much better. They are the conservative, quiet, satisfied people, generally made up of those well-to-do in the world, who are measurably free from the burdens that weigh down the great mass of humanity, and who, therefore, see no reason why people should disturb themselves very much about it. Perhaps some of them are like the princess in France, who, when told that the people were starving for bread, asked why, if they could not obtain bread, they could not eat cake. They who have all the cake of life, they who have all the luxuries, do not like generally to be disturbed by a vision of people who are without the necessities of life. I have heard men say that they decidedly object to efforts to educate and improve the masses. Somebody, they say, has got to do the world's rough work; and they seem to look on themselves as made of a better sort of clay than the ordinary average of the world, and to look down on the struggling and toiling millions as people naturally born into this condition, and whose business it is to serve the interests of those above them. This is the way the Southern planters looked on the slaves in old times. It is the way thousands of capitalists look on laborers. But is

it the true way? No society is ever safe so long as its foundations are uneasy. If the foundation of your house should suddenly become conscious, and wake up to the fact that it was bearing a very heavy burden; if it felt tired and restless, and wished to turn over and readjust itself, or to get somebody else to help bear a part of the load,—you would not sleep very comfortably to-night. Society is never safe, unless the foundations are contented. And the foundations of society in the modern world most certainly are not in that condition.

Besides those people who look upon themselves as the natural aristocracy, to be served by the poorer class, there are those who are so busy about their own affairs that they have never studied the past conditions of the world, to see what society has been and what it is capable of becoming, and to know the present forces that are at work, and to see whether there are possibilities of a peaceful reconstruction of things. They seem to feel that the world has been always about as it is to-day; and they regard the people who talk about making it any better as enthusiasts and impractical persons.

Now, as to whether this is a fair judgment concerning the condition of society and the possibility of realizing some nobler dream, let us glance over the world as we know it. Every man who stops to think recognizes a hundred things that he is willing to call by the name of evils. If he stops to think a little farther, he will be convinced that they are no necessary part of human life. They are necessary in one sense, taking people as they are, ignorant, passionate, imperfect; but it is not necessary that the people should remain as they are.

I do not believe that we shall ever abolish death; nor am I at all certain that it would be desirable, if we could. But

there is certainly no necessity for half the children that are born to die before they are five years of age. There is no sort of necessity for thousands of people's being swept off the face of the earth by famine. There is no necessity for pestilences and epidemics. Most of the diseases that afflict humanity are preventable. These hideous accompaniments of death, and the procurer of death in ninety-nine cases in a hundred, are not natural or necessary. They are removable evils.

Then look into the condition of half the nations of to-day. It used to be almost the universal condition,—the common people oppressed, ground down to the earth, taxed so that they do not have any ambition left for the accumulation of wealth, hardly daring to use what they have, lest it be found out by those above them, who would rob them of it ; people whose lives and whose fortunes are not their own, but in the hands of those who have gained the power to do with them as they please. Is this an ideal state of affairs,—a few kings, a few nobles, a few mighty ones, and the masses crushed to the earth? This is the condition of things in Russia to-day. I do not wonder there are Nihilists there. If I were in Russia,— so far as I can understand the present condition of things,— I should probably be a Nihilist myself. These things are no part of the necessary, natural order of the world.

Look at the woman with her little child starving and dying in a garret. Is that natural? Look at the person imprisoned for stealing a loaf of bread, perhaps some person who has never had any opportunity to develop above his present condition, the victim of his circumstances, now shut away from his fellows in order that society may be protected from his brutal violence. Is this part of the necessary and natural order of the world ?

And so you may take almost all these evils under which the world is to-day suffering,—pain, diseases, poverty, grinding toil,—and they are not necessary. Take the world's laborers. The great majority of the people to-day are obliged to work so many hours, to work so hard, to drudge with such pressing toil that they have no time, no strength, no ambition, to lead the lives of men and women; no time to think of brain or heart or society; no time to think of the world's beauty, of the world's inspiration, of the world's good; no ambition above feeding the necessities or the vicious appetites of the body. Is this a necessary part of the world's condition?

No, friends. We dream, and we have a right to dream, of some period in the future history of the world when war and famine and pestilence and vice and crime and drudging labor and premature death shall be things only to be remembered. They are demons, serpents, that humanity can throttle. They are evils that we can tread underfoot. There are forces in this world that, when we have mastered them, when we have learned how to use them, shall make us kings of the world. We can realize human brotherhood; we can realize the dream of peace and purity in which all these evils that I have enumerated shall be things long outgrown.

I have thus given you a picture of some of the social dreams of the world. In future discussions, we shall go back to the condition in which the world began, and follow up the pathway of human progress, showing some of its particular achievements, and so learn how we may help, or try to help, solve some of the remaining problems that stand in the way of our realization of the social dream.

SOCIAL BEGINNINGS

IN considering the great social problems of the world that are still unsolved, there are two states of mind against which we need carefully to guard ourselves. There are those who think that, if they can only get their special reform started, almost anything and everything can be accomplished in a very short space of time. And these people get impatient with the inertia, the conservatism, the indifference of the world. They wonder why everybody cannot see as clearly as they do that they have at last discovered the solution that has been looked for so long.

On the other hand, there are those in just the contrary state of mind. They see that the evils under which society is laboring are very old. They look, for example, at intemperance, or they see how slowly religious changes are wrought; they see the laborer trying to better his condition, and note how very little has been accomplished; and they get the impression, in some general way, that the old world wags on after substantially the same manner year after year, century after century, and they have very little confidence that anything better can be accomplished. They are inclined to let things drift. They do not like to be disturbed, feeling that it is not worth while, and that the best thing any man can do is to make himself and his friends as comfortable as possible, and let the world go on as it will.

Now, in order that we may understand this question, that

we may attack the problems of the modern world intelligently, we need to go back and get in our minds some clear and intelligent outline, at least, of the world as it was at the beginning. We need to see on what kind of an earth man started, and what kind of a man he was at the start. As we thus comprehend what has already been accomplished, as we study the methods and processes by which results have been attained, two things will come into our minds as fixed persuasions. One, that for so wonderful a race as this almost anything may be hoped. I confess that as I look back and down along the ages and see the pathway up which humanity has toiled, as I see what man was at the beginning, as I see the methods by which he has worked, as I see the heights that he has already climbed, it seems to me that the word "impossible" is one that should be blotted from our dictionaries. I care not how old a problem may be. I care not how difficult of solution it may appear. I care not how inadequate human intelligence and the implements for human attack may seem : the conviction is forced upon me that this race of ours can attain almost anything it dreams.

At the same time there comes another persuasion that needs to be fixed just as firmly in our minds ; and that is the perception that all things that are worth attaining have been attained by slow, age-long, patient effort. Nothing that is worth doing was ever done in a hurry. There are times when things seem to be accomplished with a great deal of rapidity ; but these times of rapid advance and rapid change are only the times of the out-flowering, of the blossoming, of those things that have been ages in course of preparation. Did you ever notice how the century plant blooms ? In a few days, it runs up its central stalk, and puts out its wonderful flower ; but it has been years getting ready for this

culmination. So it is, I believe, in regard to all achievements of man. Ages have passed in growth, in preparation. At last, the solution is reached; and the result seems to be accomplished in an hour. But there has been no great revolution, political, social, moral, or religious, that was not the out-blossoming of centuries of preparation. It is true, indeed, that we may expect much more rapid results in the modern world and in the future than have been seen in the past; for this progress of society is something like a geometrical progression. Every new attainment becomes a new implement, a new weapon, a new power for further achievement. So the process is cumulative; and we may expect that the world will grow rapidly in the future, although the growth has been comparatively slow in the past.

These two lessons, then, we shall learn through a careful survey of human progress,—a lesson of hope, so that we shall not easily become discouraged in the face of any difficulty, and the lesson of patience. We shall “learn to labor” not only, but “to wait.”

To help you to trace these steps of man, and to bring you into such a condition that you can intelligently face the problems of the modern world, we need, then, I say, to go back and see the lines of human advance; see what man has achieved, and how he has achieved it; see where he began, what were the means at his disposal. To take you back over this pathway of human progress, and to picture to you, in broad and general outlines, the world as man found it, and man himself as he found it, is the task which I set before myself this morning.

Suppose we consider the civilization of the world under the figure of a great painting. Here is a canvas on which man, as an artist, has outlined one form, one figure, one achievement after another, until we see all around us this

modern world. I wish, now, that we may get back to the bare canvas on which the artist commenced his work, to wipe out, one after another, these great things that man has achieved, so that I may affect your imaginations and put you, as nearly as possible, into a condition to comprehend the low beginning of this wondrous development of man.

First, then, as the last startling and striking invention, let us blot out the telephone. We can no longer hear the voice of our friend in a distant city. There is silence through this wide space,—something more of human separation than we are conscious of to-day. Next, let us think of all the telegraph lines of the world as existing no longer. Chicago is thirty-six hours away instead of a few minutes; and, instead of having the news of yesterday from Europe on your breakfast table this morning, it is a week or ten days, at the very soonest, in reaching us. Then let us abolish all the railroad systems of the world, have not a single locomotive engine running on its track across the plains or through the mountains,—all this network of rails removed. And, now, we are not thirty-six hours from Chicago; but we are two or three weeks. We are days from New York; days more from the capital of our country. And along with the railroads have gone all the steamships from the seas; for these are a part of the same invention, and now only the ship blown by the winds links us to Europe and Asia. The world grows larger, and its races are farther and farther away from us. There begins to be a sense of separation, of loneliness of race and people as related to race and people. Then go all the manufactures of the world,—all the machines that, under the impulse of this agent of steam, have so changed the face of the earth. Picture to yourself every factory blotted out, and all the results of these factories as existing no longer,—the thousands of articles of use, of convenience, and of beauty.

Then the newspaper is gone, the magazine and every book ; for the printing-press exists no longer. There are only a few people in all the wide world who can read and write ; and these few have only a few laboriously produced manuscript copies of some of the world's great writers. Then blot out all our modern progress in regard to government. There is no longer a free country on the face of the earth, no longer this sense of individual liberty and freedom of speech, no longer our courts, no longer our school-houses and colleges. All the products of the world's art — statues and pictures — exist no longer in galleries ; for there are no longer any galleries. The cities of the world have disappeared. Ships no longer sail on any sea. The oceans are wide, dreary, lonely wastes, traversed only by the winds and storms. There is not even a single boat on any river in any part of the world. There are no houses. Every one of them has disappeared. There are no public roads, no highways along which the feet of couriers can travel. The human race is made up of hostile tribes or of barbarians speaking different languages, with no means of communication with each other, standing in an attitude of hostility and ignorance, looking upon every other race or tribe as a natural enemy.

We have got back to the time when the world was one wide wilderness, but we have not yet reached the beginning ; for a large part of what we are accustomed to look upon as the natural conditions and products of the earth have been wrought out under the influence of man. There are no more domestic animals. Man does not ride the horse and pet the dog. There are no domestic fowls. It is just one wide, waste world ; but not yet are we back at the beginning. Almost all the fruits of the world — our delicious apples, our luscious pears and peaches, our grapes and apricots and

plums and figs — are the product of natural and human selection. These did not exist when man began his career. A few crude, bitter fruits were the germs out of which these wonderful results have been developed. Not only that, but in that far-off world there was no corn, no wheat, no barley, no rye, none of the grains on which the human race has fed itself.

Again, that old world was not so beautiful as it is now, as it has become under the magical touch of man. A few years ago, I visited the house of a millionaire at Cincinnati, and looked over his grounds. I was told that he possessed twelve hundred varieties of roses alone,—so many of one flower! Most of the beautiful flowers of the world have been developed, since man began his career on earth, from a few simple specimens. So that man has not only developed these other things, but he has made the world beautiful under his touch. Picture to yourselves this world, with so much that makes up its beauty and use absent.

And, now, what is man himself? We want to find not only the theatre on which man began this play of human life, but we want to know the condition of the actor himself when he first entered upon the stage. Man, then, in that far-off, desolate wilderness, was just emerging from a purely animal condition. He was fighting what might well have seemed a doubtful battle with the wild beasts of the earth, with no weapons in his hands except a stone or the branch of a tree, torn off, that he could use as a club. But what was his physical condition? I wish to picture to you as simply and as graphically as I can what sort of man this far-off ancestor of ours was, that you may see the marvellous development of the centuries that have crowned us with glory and honor.

Let us look at man as a physical being. What sort of an

animal was he? I suppose him to have been of lower stature than the present man, as we know him. He was dark-skinned. He had a retreating forehead and prominent jaws. He was more and more like the animal whose child at that time he was. He had a smaller brain than civilized man. His brain was not only less in size and weight, but, if you could have studied its internal structure, you would have seen upon it traces of only the crudest ways of thinking. These brains of ours are now complex beyond the possibility of conception; and this complexity has been wrought out through ages of development as the result of thought. For it is thought that has built and complicated and developed the brain quite as much as it is the brain which has developed thought. This brain, then, of the primeval man, was simple in structure, and capable of very few ideas.

Let us see what he was, intellectually considered. It is almost impossible for us now to imagine how little brain power, in the modern sense of that word, was possessed by primitive man. You must remember that, when we come down to the lowest condition of the lowest barbarians with which we are acquainted, we are still far from the beginning. There is no race on the earth to-day that represents the starting point of human civilization. They are all of them advanced in comparison. We know not how far along the road we must go back before we can picture the condition of primitive man. But there are men to-day who do not find it intellectually possible to count the fingers of both hands. There is a tribe that Sir Francis Galton tells us about, which cannot reckon beyond two or three. To illustrate, he tells the following incident: He saw one of them engaged in trading in sheep, and he sold one sheep for two sticks of tobacco. And, in order to carry on the trade, he had to receive his two sticks of tobacco and deliver one sheep, and

then receive two sticks more and then another sheep, and so on. When some one offered him four sticks of tobacco and proposed to take two sheep in return, he was utterly confused, and unable to solve the problem. These are hints as to the intellectual condition of primeval man.

What about his moral condition? There was no such thing as morality developed at that far-off time; for morality is the result of social experience. The development of our conception of right and wrong, of the claims, the duties, and obligations of man to man, and so the development of moral rules or laws, presuppose long social experience; but up to that time there had been no social experience. Consequently, there was no morality, in the modern sense of that word. There was no society; for society begins, as does government, with the family, and there was no family in existence. Men and women maintained only passing, transient relations with each other; and children, developing rapidly to such maturity as they could then attain, showed little love for their father or mother, and received little love from them in return. The children left the parents as soon as they were able to care for themselves. This whole idea of family affection, the bonds of kinship, the tenderness of mother love, the nobility of father self-sacrifice, were practically unknown. This primitive man had no wife, no child, in the modern sense of those words. He had no home, no shelter, no house. He fought for shelter in a cave with the wild beasts, or slept beneath a tree or lodged in its branches.

Of course, no political institution, no government, no organized justice, no social protection, was possible. Each man was engaged in a struggle for food or for life. Of course there was no industrial development in this ancient world. There could be none without fire; and I suppose

we are to picture man as living upon this earth unknown years before he discovered the art of building a fire. That is one of the grandest discoveries ever made by man. It was appreciated in the ancient world to such an extent that it gave rise to that wonderful myth of Prometheus. For, even then, they had a glimpse of the primeval condition of the race. Man was represented as being desolate on the earth under the anger and curse of the gods; but Prometheus, one of the first self-sacrificing champions of the world, was said to have stolen fire from heaven and brought it to earth in a hollow reed, thus conferring upon man one of the most precious gifts that even heaven could bestow. If you think of the human race without fire, without all that it has been enabled to accomplish through the ministry of fire, you will understand the significance of this myth, and will not think it strange that the old Aryans—our forefathers in ancient India—should have worshipped fire, under the name of *Agni*, as one of their chief gods. Primitive man, then, had no fire, no hearth-stone, no shelter, no home.

What was the religion of early man? When we look up to the heavens to-day and think of the magnificent conception of the universe that we have attained, of the God whose life thrills and throbs through it all, and of him as akin to the spirit in ourselves, so that we can dare to look up and lisp the words "Our Father who art in heaven," trusting that they mean some deep, grand thing, though we cannot yet measure it all; and then when we look back and see the beginnings of this magnificent development of the religious life and thought of man,—we ought to be filled with the deepest gratitude, the noblest reverence, and the most undying hope.

Man at first, with these crude, bare, intellectual powers of which I have hinted, looked out over this wilderness, this jungle-covered world, and saw all the forces external to him-

self and hostile to him, as he thought. He had no conception of any order, of any law, of that idea which lies for us in the word "universe,"—the oneness of the world, the conception of it as a scene of order, a cosmos; for this idea is one of the last developments of civilization, one of the most difficult, one of the highest. Primitive man had no conception of any order in the world. The lightning leaped from cloud to cloud; and he saw sometimes under its withering touch some of his companions fall speechless, senseless, dead. It was to him an unfriendly power. He did not think of it as a natural force or as under any law. He feared it as a demon, as the living manifestation of some spiritual power or spiritual hate, akin to that which he felt in his own bosom, and which he saw manifested in the lives of those about him. This primitive man supposed the forces of the natural world to contain a spirit like that which he figured as inhabiting his own body. He supposed the difference in force was the difference in the exercise of the will power of which he himself was conscious; and so he put this will power into the lightning, into the clouds and winds, into the running rivers and all the forces about him. He thought of these only as *beings*, like himself, but invisible, and therefore the more to be feared. He never knew when they might be about him. They were capricious, changeable. He never knew but they might hate him, that in some unwitting way he might have offended them. He never knew just how he could appease them, how he could be sure that they would become his friends; and so he worshipped in abject fear these forces and movements of the material world. If he could please a living man by an offering of food, by a gift, by a present of an animal taken in hunting; if he could please his chieftain by flattery; if he could buy his pity by abject supplication and prayers,—he

knew no other way by which he could win the favor of these invisible powers. Such, then, is a hint as to the early religious thought and religious customs and practices of the primitive man.

Here, then, is the kind of world on which this human race of ours entered at the beginning. And this is the kind of man that we are to look upon to-day as our far-off ancestor. And, though you may be inclined to regard this half-animal barbarian with contempt, I feel like standing in his presence with bowed head and with reverent awe and wonder. If a century-old oak, rooted strongly in the soil, spreading its branches out over the earth and laughing with the winds and the storms of heaven, could become suddenly self-conscious, and could understand the process of its own century-long development, and then could see lying at its feet a little tiny acorn containing in itself the germ of it all, could it look upon the acorn with any but feelings of honor and awe? I do not indeed think of this primitive, half-animal, barbaric ancestor as containing in himself the power out of which, as from a root, all this magnificent civilization of the world has grown, blossomed, and fruited. I think of the spirit and life of the divine, the same spirit that is in the distant stars, the same spirit that has created the worlds and that holds the worlds in its hands, as in this ancestor of ours, the spirit and life. I do not see, as Prof. Tyndall expresses it, in the particles of matter the promise and the potency of every form of life. I see rather in the invisible spirit that was in this same man, that was in the first forms of matter before man appeared, the promise and the potency of every form of life. I wonder as I see the first man and note the wondrous development to which he has attained; but my wonder, as I look into his eyes, does not stop with the man. It sees there the spark of the infinite life; and I find myself awed by feelings of reverence and worship.

SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENT

LAST Sunday morning, I told you that, in order to come to an intelligent and hopeful study of the social problems that still remain unsolved, we ought to have in our minds a clear picture, even if bald in outline, of the starting-point of human history. We ought to know what sort of a world this was at the beginning, and what sort of a man our far-off ancestor was, when he commenced this career of human progress. I told you, at that time, that a review of this sort ought to teach us two great lessons, in view of what the world has already accomplished: one, that we ought never to despair, no matter how intricate the problems that face us, no matter how old the difficulties are. Again, that in view of the long reaches of years of human history, and in the light of what has been wrought out during those long periods of time, we ought to conceive and cherish a tireless patience as we face the future. What man has done man can do, we say. This race has solved problems more difficult, it seems to me, than any that remain, when we consider the capacity of man at the time and the implements at his disposal. We ought, then, to learn confidence and cheer and patience. Things are not wrought out in haste. It takes time to accomplish magnificent results. And so we ought to lay our hand calmly on the shoulder of those who are impatient over the difficulties of the modern world, and point them backward and downward, and help them to learn this lesson of waiting.

I have already taken you back, over a hurried pathway, to the starting-point of the race. I wish now to begin at that starting-point and indicate some of the main lines of human achievement, not telling you an entirely new story, though some features of it may be new, but recalling to you what you already know of human progress ; so I may be able to lead you to the point where we stand to-day, and point you toward the possible future.

We find the first man just having crossed the lines that separate humanity from the animal world. I shall enter into no discussion as to how this transition took place, or of the hundred questions that spring up in connection with it. We find man beyond question there. I told you, last Sunday, what sort of a man he was physically, intellectually, morally, and spiritually ; in the wilderness, without weapons, without any training or skill of either hand or brain, apparently more helpless than the beasts about him, yet containing in himself the wonderful germs of all that we see and all that we still hope for.

Let us note the essential differences between man and the animal world, so far as they bear on this problem of human progress.

Animals possess something that perhaps, by a proper use of terms, can be called language. At any rate, they communicate with each other. But they are incapable of developing it, except in the very simplest possible way. They possess also a power of combination, under leadership, so that they can effect more than any single one could effect unaided and alone. They possess also a certain power of improvement ; that is, give them better conditions, and they will build themselves better homes. They will adjust themselves to these new conditions and surroundings. But man possesses, and did possess at the time of his beginning,

as ever since, two peculiarities which mark him as distinct from all the rest of the living creatures upon the earth. He possesses the power to dream, to think, to imagine, to plan a better condition of things. He possesses, and possessed then, the ability to invent means and methods for creating this better condition of things.

To illustrate the immense significance of this simple point, suppose that you should find somewhere in the world a race of animals that had broken off limbs from trees or had pulled up young saplings out of the earth, and had sharpened their points and turned them into spears, using them as weapons of defence or for securing their prey. Or suppose we should find a race of animals that showed an ability to change their surroundings in the light of a higher and better ideal, to improve their condition in any way; should we not feel at once that we were in the presence of something very wonderful, utterly unlike what we ordinarily associate with our idea of animals? Should we not feel that here at last we had come upon another race, different from man, but that yet might possibly compete with him in development and in control of the earth? Just these simple things, then,—that man possesses an ideal, the power to dream of better things, and the ability to go to work and change his surroundings and bring them into accordance with his dream,—these two lift him into lordship. And, simple as they seem, they contain in themselves the promise and the potency of all human attainment and all human supremacy on the earth.

Man, then, being such as that, let us trace three or four lines of his advance. I want to show you some of his inventions, some of his achievements along certain definite lines of progress. I want you to note the difficulty of them, man being such as he was at the time. I want you to see how long it took him to make these discoveries and inven-

tions. I want you to note that every step of progress put into his hands new implements, new power, new weapons, new instruments for the control of the earth and the shaping of his destiny.

First, note the condition of man so far as his industrial state was concerned. The first man stood empty-handed, not so strong as many of the beasts about him; not furnished, like the tiger and the lion, with natural weapons of teeth and claw; not possessing the eye of the eagle; not so swift as the antelope; not capable of controlling the air or of living in the water; shut up to his residence on the land. It was an immense step in advance when the first man began to use his hands to wrench off the limb of a tree for a club. The first weapon was a loose stone; and we know not how many years may have passed before this man of undeveloped brain and feeble power of thought first grasped the idea of turning the stone into a more effective weapon. At last,—it may have been generations,—some man, either as a result of rapid insight, the dawn of a new idea, or by accident, chipped the flint, or the obsidian, and made the first rough tool or weapon. And ages perhaps passed by before it dawned upon the growing intellect of man that these implements might be improved by polishing and grinding. So there was first the chipped stone age; and that was followed by the grinding or polishing of these stones, cutting them into shape, and working them into the many forms of use and barbaric beauty.

I suppose that men must have occupied this earth at least a hundred thousand years before there was any control whatever over the metals, before they emerged from the stone age, or discovered the use of fire,—learned that they could smelt and mould and shape the natural products of the earth. Somewhere, by some fortunate accident, perhaps, copper

was discovered cropping out of the ground. A fire may have been built over it, and they may have discovered that it melted. They found that, when it was melted, it could be run into shape, or beaten into the form of knife or hatchet or spear-point, but that it was not hard enough to cut or to retain its shape. What then? Stopped in their progress at the very outset, in attempting to control the metal resources of the world, how many weary ages must it have been before they overcame the enormous difficulty of the problem? They knew nothing about these matters, nothing of the qualities that have been discovered during these thousands and thousands of years. What should they do? We do not know who the discoverer was. We have a long roll now of the names of those who have invented, who have achieved, who have wrought out something to help on the welfare of the world; yet not one among them all deserves more of the race than that unknown barbarian who first found out, we know not how, that, by mingling twelve parts of tin with copper, he could produce what we now know by the name of bronze. The world leaped ahead centuries when that discovery was made. Now, at last, they had in their hands a metal that they could melt under the action of heat; that they could run into the shape of tools, weapons, implements, of every kind. Now agriculture became an art. Men produced weapons and instruments of every kind. And now we have come down to historical times; for the first people that we know of historically, apart from the remains which they have left in the drift and the sand of the past, were still living in the bronze age. What a step was taken beyond this, when the use of iron and steel was discovered! Again, we know not who the inventor was; but they found that, if they melted iron and ran it into shape, they could not use it for knives or implements of any kind. It was cast-iron: it was

brittle, it would break. Some wise man invented mingling carbon with the iron to transmute it into steel. Ages were passed in the process, but at last it was achieved ; and then man entered for the first time upon his career of absolute control over the physical features and forces of the earth. With a brain that could discover steel there was nothing that might not be accomplished.

Then, when the first beginnings of machinery were invented, and the rippling brooklets, dancing down the hill-sides, were set to work turning the wheels of mills ; and when, at last, he discovered the use of steam and made it his servant, he transformed the whole face of the earth. Then ships began to sail over the seas ; then railways reached out across the continents, tunnelled the mountains, and bound the nations of the world into a community of brotherhood. Then the peoples of the world, before separated, began to flow together ; and a sense of common interest and common hope was born.

Note the next discovery. The ancient Greeks knew that, by taking up a bit of amber and rubbing it, they could change its condition, so that it would attract to itself bits of straw and other light materials. They called this amber *electron*. After hundreds of years, it was discovered in England, since the time of the Renaissance, that the same effects could be produced with other things besides amber ; and this resulted in the discovery of electricity, the term being derived from the word *electron*, or amber. Then hundreds of years went by, until, by a fortunate inspiration, it occurred to Franklin that, possibly, that marvellous power that flashed and thundered in the heavens might be connected with this curious mystery that had come to be known by the name electricity. And he discovered that they were one. Then Morse invented his telegraph ; and the

world was turned into a whispering gallery, and men spoke their thoughts from nation to nation, over mountains and under the seas. Then the telephone comes ; and that which was clicked and written becomes living human speech, and there are no more barriers. Though far away from each other, friends can hear and recognize the old, familiar voice.

And are we at the end? Every single step of this progress has only put a new and more effective implement into the hands of the race, giving it wider and larger control of the world. I believe that it is not extravagant to say that we are only at the beginning as yet, and not at the end. The human race is only beginning to be civilized. The larger part of the world is substantially barbaric. Still, among those that we call civilized, it is only a part who are civilized. This barbarism is at the bottom. Boston, that we call the modern Athens, is not all civilized. There are relics of barbarism and savagery in all our great cities. This, then, is an outline of the story of the invention and development of the arts.

I have three other stories which I must indicate. Let us learn something in regard to the development of the race in society and government. These are inventions, discoveries, just as much as the steam-engine. At the beginning there were no such things as society and government. Each man was a law unto himself; and there was perpetual warfare and struggle,—a struggle for life, for the conditions and means of existence. First, there was the temporary association of men and women, the beginning of society, the beginning of government. Yet it took long ages, hundreds of thousands of years, for men to develop anything like that form of society which we call civilized to-day. They had nothing to guide them, no principles of morality, no ideas as to what they ought to do. This could be learned only by experience.

They developed, at first, the tribe ; and the tribe grew until it became a nation. Then, by fusion and by conquest, they enlarged their borders, until, at the beginning of human history, we see great empires emerging out of the primeval darkness. They were despotisms as yet, cruel and merciless. But this despotism and slavery were necessary steps in human progress. There was a time when slavery meant advance. It was in the line of human progress. There was a time when polygamy and polyandry were advances in the progress of society. They were higher and better than the conditions which preceded them. Consider for a moment. Here is a tribe of people, surrounded by hostile tribes on every hand. They are compelled to associate themselves together for self-defence. They have for their master, or head, one absolute in his control. They are fierce and cruel. No wonder if the leader be the most cruel among them. To gain the position of leader, he has to be fearless and cruel. But he compacts the tribe together, and holds them as one. He wields them as one army, and overcomes his enemies. At first, these enemies must be put to death by universal massacre. There is no other way of disposing of so many prisoners. If they should let them go, they will come and fight again. When the tribes had become strong enough, so that they could make these prisoners slaves, then a step was taken toward the development of human society and of our ideas of mercy and justice. At first, these tribes were bound together by supposed ties of kinship, by the worship of one god,—the god of the tribe, the supposed ancestor of the people. But it was this despotic power that compacted them as one. It was necessary that they should go through this stage. But where came in the principle of freedom? It did not exist.

At last, they took another step : they broke the bonds of

tribal association ; and about five hundred years before Christ, in ancient Athens, the step was taken which was the political dividing line between ancient and modern society. They invented the territorial form of organization, so that the people that lived in the same territory organized together under the same laws and leadership, and were recognized as one people, instead of being recognized only as those descended from a common ancestor, as had been the case up to that time. But neither ancient Athens nor Rome invented anything that can be called human freedom in government.

Alexander extended his reign almost all over the known world. The Roman Empire did the same ; but in neither case were the rights of men much respected, nor were the people secure of justice or peace. The moment that the central power was broken, the empires crumbled and the people fell into barbarism. In other words, the people had not solved the problem of order and of freedom. Government, in the modern sense of the word, means order, justice, liberty. For the first time in the history of humanity, we have solved that problem here. We have at last discovered the federal system,—independence in regard to local affairs, with loyalty to the central power that controls and dominates all. It was the combination of these two fundamental and simple principles that first solved the problem of government. But it took the world thousands of years to make the discovery, after experiments with every form and type of political life. This, then, in outline, is the story of the world's social and political progress.

If you wish to get a graphic picture of the difference between society then and to-day, picture to yourself a woman in a barbarian's hut and a woman in a Boston home. Think how every want of human nature, of body, mind, brain, and spirit, is fed in the modern home. Think how all

the forces of humanity and of nature combined have ransacked the earth and brought its treasures and laid them at the feet of the modern wife, the crown and the glory of human society, and of all that the race has thus far in this line achieved.

But I must turn rapidly to indicate another line of advance. Did it ever occur to you that language and literature are inventions just as much as the steam-engine? The first man had nothing that we should recognize as a language. A few wild, discordant cries, the ability to utter a particular sound as an indication of a particular thing,—this was the beginning. This was amplified by gesture and probably by pantomime and facial expression. At last, as thought developed, keeping pace with the struggle to express the idea, language grew and grew through the ages, until to-day we need very little gesture, very little facial expression; and man, calm and self-poised, by shaping the air into tone, gives utterance to ten thousand shades of thought and feeling that early man never dreamed of. To show how crude early language was, we must remember that some peoples that are highly organized among tribes existing to-day are so poor in language that it would be impossible to translate our books into their tongue. They have no words to express our ideas; for the ideas themselves do not exist. Language, then, was slowly invented.

As the years went by came that wonderful step, the invention of an alphabet. Did it ever occur to you to think what it means that here should be a pictured sign to stand for a sound, and that sound one among a series of sounds to represent a word, and then a series of characters to represent a sentence, and that thus we should be able to put into forms upon paper the grandest thoughts and the most soaring imaginations? But it took the world thousands of

years to make the discovery. The first attempts were mere picture writing, the representation of things in rude drawing, like the work of small children on slates or with a bit of chalk on a wall. The Indians, when first discovered, had no way of writing the word "man." They could only draw the outline of a man ; and, if they wished to represent a certain number, they would draw the outlines of all, or use some arbitrary sign, to indicate that there were a good many. This was substantially the condition of ancient Egypt, with its hieroglyphics. At last, progress reached the stage which children use in their play to-day, and which we call the rebus,—an arbitrary sign to indicate a certain word. For instance, if a man wished to represent an ox, he would, at first, draw an outline of an ox. Then, perhaps, he would only draw the head, and let that stand for the whole ; and this would come, at last, to be the arbitrary sign for it which everybody would recognize. The next step would be to take this arbitrary sign to represent the first sound of the word "ox" ; and, when you have done that, you have an alphabet. The ancient Egyptians did not attain to this. The Phœnicians were the first people, so far as we know, who learned to make an alphabet. Then thought was free. Then, at last, a weapon was put into the hands of men, by which they could control the thinking of the world. And when, after that, there were discovered movable type and the printing-press, we reach the time when, as in the *Herald* office of this city, they can strike off from twenty to thirty thousand complete newspapers in an hour. All the literature of the world has simply kept pace with this invention and discovery of the means of expressing thought and conveying it over the world. These facts but hint at the wondrous story.

We must next consider the moral and religious growth of the world. At first, as I have told you, there was no

morality. There was no original revelation of the principles of right and wrong. Men were left to find out what was right and what was wrong, as the result of individual and social experience, step by step, through countless ages of time. Men at last learned to live together helpfully and justly; and morality grew and took shape, until it is the guiding light of the social world.

Then, out of the various objects that man had worshipped as gods, there grew, at last, through the development of human morality, a higher conception of this power that rules and controls human destiny, till we have attained the thought of a cosmos, a universe, a oneness of things, a oneness of the power that is in and through all things. And we have learned not to fear it any more, but to know that it is the embodiment of all justice, of all truth, of all love, of all help and hope and promise.

From these low beginnings,—the worship of ancestors, of physical force, of sun, moon, stars, winds,—we have come to say "Our Father,"—human brotherhood and divine fatherhood in one phrase. And, as we eliminate from our conception of God one after another of the crude features born of ignorance and human hate, the remnants of tradition, of fear, and of evil, we have, at last, the God who is not a spirit, but *spirit*, and who wishes us to worship him in spirit and in truth.

Now, how has this progress come about? Is it natural? Have I been giving you a lecture on science? Have I simply told you a story of the growth of human art? Has this been wrought out by kings, by great men, by individual inventors? It has been the work of no one man, of no one nation, of no one age. All men have invented, have discovered. All men have contributed by their experience to the development of the arts, the institutions, the language, the

literature, the morals, and the religion of the world. How have they done it? By discovering the laws of God, and by humble, simple obedience to those laws. We save ourselves, we say, religiously, by knowing God, and by obedience to him. We have saved ourselves in the arts, in institutions, in language, and in literature,—all the good of the world has been attained simply by knowing just so much more of God, and by obeying him. We make this arbitrary distinction. I wish to break it down, and say that there is no meaning in it when we come to the essence of things.

As a concrete illustration, how did it happen that the "Puritan" beat the "Genesta" in the contest? Those who built the "Puritan" and sailed her succeeded better than those who built and sailed the "Genesta" in discovering and obeying the laws of God. There was more complete adaptation in the one case than in the other; and this completer adaptation won, as it always has and always must in every department of human life.

Every step of progress, everything that has ever been won, has been won by the help, the inspiration, the guidance, the wisdom, of God. Every force in the universe, every force in humanity, is just this one force. Every law is one law. The condition of all life and all advance is simply finding out the law and obeying it. In this way, then, humanity has made what progress it has attained unto the present hour. Man, of course, as he has developed these external institutions, has developed himself; for thought and deed have always kept side by side, acting and reacting, developing and redeveloping each other. From the man who was not able to count the fingers on one hand have blossomed, at last, Newton and his *Principia*, solving problems that require years of study, measuring the distance of the stars, and weighing them in the balance. From the man empty-handed, without

even a club or a stone, have blossomed all the implements and tools and mechanism and machinery of the world. From the man isolated, alone, without society or government, has blossomed all that we know of order and promise in human life,—all arts, all music, all beauty. There is no story in the *Arabian Nights*, no tale of magic, that can match the wonder of the story of the social achievement of man. Man, the magician, has touched with his wand of thought and improvement the different features and phases of the rough, wild, wilderness world, and transformed it into beauty. Under his touch, brighter flowers have blossomed, and the corn-fields of the world have waved. Under his touch, ships are sailing the seas, and the wilderness has been changed into gardens and growing fields. At his touch, mountains are levelled, valleys filled up, rivers bridged, and all the natural forces of the world become means by which he lifts himself up into higher kingship. To-day, man stands facing the future, king of himself, king of the earth, master of these external forces, master of his further development, master of every problem that remains unsolved. There is no reason, then, for discouragement, no reason why we should not look forward to the happy adjustment of every difficulty that still remains.

SOCIAL BARRIERS

NEARLY all of the social problems of the world are modern. The ancient world was not troubled or perplexed by them; and this for the very simple and satisfactory reason that society, in the sense in which we are accustomed to use the word, is a modern fact. There was no "society" ten, twenty, forty thousand years ago. The social difficulties, therefore, that we are facing and trying to overcome are caused by the social development of the modern world. They are a part of this development, a natural and necessary step in it, the world being what it is and men being what they are. But, though there were then no social problems, no perplexing difficulties, such as we face to-day, yet, I take it, we would not care to go back to that condition of things in order to get rid of them. They are a part of the progress of society, just as bitterness and extreme acidity are a part of the internal change and development that are going on inside the apple, in its process of growth and ripening. If a man never builds a house, he will meet none of the perplexities of the practical builder. He will never have to determine how he will build, never meet any of the questions as to whether he shall do this or that, or how he shall overcome the intractable quality of certain materials with which he wishes to deal. But he who undertakes to build will find these questions facing him at every

step of the way. To solve them, one must go on with the process and complete the structure. If, then, we are to have any kingdom of God here on earth, if we are ever to lay the foundation and rear the walls and close in the dome of the temple of humanity, we must be willing to undertake the toil of thought and the struggle of effort that are necessary to solve the difficulties that meet us, and to overcome the material obstacles which are about us, and which obstruct our course on every hand.

There is not, I suppose, a social evil in existence that does not have its root in injustice; and the root of injustice is selfishness; and the root of selfishness is ignorance,—ignorance of our fellow-men, preventing us from anything like intelligent, sympathetic understanding of their needs, their wants, their feelings, the fact that they are only other selves, whose rights are just as sacred as ours, whose wishes are just as important as ours, whose prosperity is just as dear to them as ours is to us. These barriers, then, that stand in the way between nations, between classes, between individuals, separating, keeping apart, preventing acquaintance, preventing the development of sympathy, preventing the growth of the feeling of human brotherhood,—these are the things which cause the problems which we have to solve; and these we need to get out of the way.

These barriers existed in the extremest forms in the ancient world before society began. If we go back for a little while, in imagination, and try to picture to ourselves the condition of the tribes and peoples existing in that far-off time, the morning of the world's history, we shall find that each people and tribe and little band lived its own life, separate from all others, without any sense of fellowship, without any sense of kinship, without any idea of rights as pertaining to others. They simply sought for them-

selves some suitable fishing ground or place for raising their cattle or developing such crude agricultural products as they had learned to cultivate. They desired simply a place for themselves. It never occurred to them that they had any interests identical with any other tribe or people, or that any other tribe had any claims upon them.

Now let us note some of the many barriers in the ancient world that kept people apart. I shall trace some of these down to modern times, showing what they are to-day,—remnants of those old times ; and I shall attempt to point out some of their evils and to outline some of the forces that helped to break them down, and the tendency of the modern world to flow together and to come to a sense of community of interest, welfare, and life.

Many of the physical obstacles of the world, that we have learned by our industrial development to overcome, were impassable obstacles to these ancient peoples,—mountain chains, for example. We scale the highest mountain summits or tunnel them. We laugh at them as obstacles, and rejoice in them simply as objects of grandeur, sublimity, and beauty ; but, for them, they were impassable barriers between them and other peoples. Out of this separation grew all sorts of weird, strange misconceptions of the people who lived on the other side. Not only were mountains barriers, but broad rivers, seas and oceans. These were conceived as such obstacles in the way of a common humanity that, down as late as the time of the writing of that book which stands as the last one in our New Testament, the ocean, which we now know to be the life of our planet, was regarded as an evil ; and, when the writer of that book was picturing to us his ideal paradise, the condition of things that was to be when the dream should be realized, he says, as a part of it, that “there shall be no more sea.”

Not only were there these physical barriers, but let us notice some of the mental barriers that kept people apart. The first and most important was their inability to understand each other's speech,—the difference of language. We have no conception to-day of what a barrier this was in those old times. We have now all the chief languages written down, and each has its grammar and literature. We can learn in a little while enough of any one of them to communicate with each other with comparative ease. Each great language has become comparatively fixed by means of its written form and its literature, but languages then were in perpetual flux and change. There was no alphabet. There was no standard of speech. This went so far that I suppose it is true that, if a tribe speaking the same language had become separated into two parts, in one generation they would have found themselves unable to communicate with each other had they come together again.

Then there are physical, mental, moral, spiritual barriers involved in the distinctions of race,—race characteristics, all those things that make the difference to-day between an Englishman and an American, a Frenchman and an Irishman. And, then, another difference, perhaps mightier and harder to overcome than either of these,—the difference of religion. For, in the old times, our modern idea of one God, and therefore of one true religion for all, if we could only find out what it is, was something utterly unheard of. Each people, each nation, each tribe, even each family, had its own god; and, so far from their conceiving it to be a duty to spread their religion and make converts to it, they considered it a sacrilege to admit a stranger to the presence of their deities, or to see their rites. The gods were the gods of their own people or of their own tribe; and they were just as jealous of the prosperity and growth, the wel-

fare and the influence, of their people, as the kings and leaders and the people themselves were. Here, then, was a dividing line. Even down to the time of the writing of some of the Psalms, this division, and the bitterness which sprang from it, were seen. The author of one of the Psalms could say, addressing his god, "Do not I hate them that hate thee?"—that is, anybody that worshipped any other god—"I hate them with perfect hatred; I count them my enemies." That was the religious duty of the ancient world.

A large part of these barriers still remain, modified in their form, but distinct and definite enough to prevent anything like mutual national or social or even individual understanding of each other. But, until we do come to this sympathetic understanding of one another, the ability to "put yourself in his place," there can be no solution of the social problems of the world that still confront us and hinder the realization of our human ideals.

Note, for example, some of the barriers that still remain inside the limits of nations. Take the religious limitations, and you will find, as in America to-day, religious differences just as pronounced and marked, perhaps as bitter in their feeling, as any in the ancient world. We have in this country Buddhists, Jews, those that we contemptuously call pagans, of every kind; we have atheists; we have free thinkers of every stripe; we have within the Orthodox Church itself sects almost innumerable. And we find this one thing peculiarly sad, but true, that the antagonisms that accompany differences of religion do not grow less as the importance of the distinctions lessens. Sometimes, it seems to me that those divided by the narrowest lines, so narrow that you can hardly tell one from the other, are bitterer than the Christian against the pagan. Perhaps they find it necessary to maintain this bitterness, to prevent their complete

fusion. The distinctions are so slight that, if they could only feel comfortable toward each other, they would lose sight of them altogether.

Then, not only is there this difference, but there are differences of birth. We have not overcome them completely, although we call ourselves a democratic people. We say that it is perfectly natural that they should exist in England, where there are the nobles and the commons, the lords and the peasants; but here, in this country, these distinctions still remain quite as real as in the Old World. They are in the way of being broken down, for the reason for them is gone. But the survival of the old feeling still remains, and creates a broad gulf of distinction, with all the bitterness that usually accompanies it. As in the case of religious distinctions, people keep up this barrier, created by the thought that they are born a little better than somebody else, by nursing it like a tender infant that would be liable to die if they let it alone, emphasizing it, talking about it, doing all that we can to call attention to it, lest it should be forgotten. This distinction is carried so far that, among a people like ours, it becomes ludicrous to those who are lookers-on from the outside; but it is very real to the people themselves.

Then there are the differences that wealth creates between the rich and poor; and these differences, although the rich are constantly, in a country like this, becoming poor and the poor constantly becoming rich, are very real, and create such dividing lines between people that it is almost impossible for those who are on the opposite sides to cross and clasp hands with each other. There would be an end to most of the labor difficulties of the time, if the capitalist could put himself in the place of the laborer and the laborer in the place of the capitalist, if they only could under-

stand each other, if they could only concede to each other equal rights. We hear of manufacturers inveighing very bitterly against combinations on the part of laborers; but it is not thought wicked if these manufacturers combine with other manufacturers. But injustice is not on the side of the manufacturers or capitalists alone. If there is contempt on the one side, there is hatred on the other. The laborer inveighs against the rich only because he is rich; and, at the same time, he himself is putting forth every effort to get into the same condition as the one whom he affects to despise and hate. The evils, the injustices, so far as people are capable of inflicting injustices, perhaps are equally divided. They are as real on one side as on the other.

Then there are distinctions that spring out of the differences of education, of inheritance, the results of past training, of the experiences through which we have gone. It will be a good day for the world when each man and each woman can sympathetically study the attitude of their neighbors, their friends, their enemies even, and try to look through their eyes, and think with their brains, and feel with their nerves, and thus to understand them; so that, if you are hated even, if some one is attempting to pursue you with injustice, you can appreciate why, see what are the underlying causes and motives. When that time comes, we shall be able to treat one another with a little more justice than is possible to-day, and shall be able to disarm these foes by the humane methods of kindness. We shall be able to understand what Jesus meant when he told us that we ought to love even our enemies, those that are trying to injure us. For you may be right well assured that no man is trying to injure you, unless he has a bad heart, who does not think he has a cause for it. And, if the cause in that case is ignorance and depravity, then all the more ought he to be

pitied, and to be helped, if possible, out of that condition of heart and brain and life.

What are the evils of these barriers that I have indicated? Their root is ignorance. They prevent our being able to sympathize with other people, to feel with them, to understand their attitude. We are not able to understand that sorrow, suffering, pain, mean as much to them as to us. We have not yet become human enough here in America, so that we can feel a calamity to England as though it were our own. We have not yet outgrown the prejudice, the ignorance, the stupidity of thinking that one people is benefited by another's being injured. We have not yet learned that men and nations are bound together by community of interests as well as community of nature. I do not believe that an American feels quite as badly when a Frenchman or Jew is hurt as when another American is injured. This race prejudice still remains. We maintain it carelessly, thoughtlessly. We teach our children to continue it by the careless speech of the fireside and the breakfast table. We say, Oh! such a person is only a Dutchman, only a Jew, only an Irishman, only so and so, recognizing still this barrier which sympathy does not leap. Just in so far as we do this, we are barbarians still. This is the touchstone of all barbarism. Go back to the ancient world, and see its roots, when these antagonisms were so deep that it was impossible for a people intellectually or sympathetically to cross them. Every nation regarded itself as the centre of the world. To the Jew, the temple at Jerusalem occupied the precise position that the State House does to the Bostonian: it was the centre of the universe. To the Chinaman, China is the centre of the world, the flowery kingdom; and all the rest of the world is barbarian. To the Athenian, Athens was the only part of the world that demanded any thought

on the part of its citizens. The rest of the world were *barbaroi*, whence we get our word. Plato himself, grand and noble as he was in his human development, taught that, while it was the duty of the Athenian to love Athens, it was just as much his duty to hate all else. There was no sense of brotherhood, no general love of all mankind, no dream of humanity as meaning anything in any real sense of that word. We are not able, then, on account of these barriers, to sympathize with the pains, the sorrows, the injustice, the evils of other people. What concerns our families touches us. Our city is linked to us by a little farther remove; and, in some sense, we are proud of our city, of what touches the honor of Boston. In a still feebler way, we have the sentiment of loyalty to the country. We are Americans. We are only beginning to overcome the barbarism of this narrowness, so that we can feel, in an equal sense and an equal degree, the meaning of humanity.

We must also learn to feel that the happiness of others is as important as our own. Had this feeling existed long ago, do you think it would have been possible for slavery to have continued a year? It was only the lack of this feeling that made the superior race look down with such contempt on the inferior, to treat the men belonging to it as property, taking away all their rights and abusing them, until every nerve quivered with pain; while those that inflicted it had no feeling themselves of pain and no sense of having done any injustice or wrong. It is very hard for us—and this is the very root of selfishness—to appreciate that a thrill of pleasure in some other person's nerve is just as important to the welfare of this universe as is the thrill of our own. But it only needs an intelligent, sympathetic imagination to realize this. And, when this intelligent, sympathetic imagination is well developed, injustice will cease from the face

of the earth. We grasp all we can for ourselves of money, fame, position, and happiness, conscious all the while that we are taking it away from some one else, going off, like a dog with a bone into a corner, and enjoying it just as much, without any sympathy with the disappointment, the sorrow, of the one from whom it has been taken. This is essentially brutal, barbaric, and not human. We are, to the extent to which this still remains, in what we superficially call our civilization, still uncivilized, barbaric, unhuman.

We need, then, to learn to sympathize with the sorrows and the joys of other people as though they were our own. But we need to learn something further,—the great fact of the solidarity of humanity. We need to learn that man is really and literally an organism. Paul says that, if the foot suffers, the head and the hand have to suffer, too; if the eye suffers, the brain must suffer; if one part of the body rejoices, the others rejoice with it; if one is in sorrow, the others must sorrow with it. This is just as true of humanity as it is of the individual. Suppose a man in partial trance, only half-awake to the facts of his own organism. Suppose, by some mental confusion, he should regard his foot as separate from himself; then let this foot be in severe pain. He would not regard it as part of himself, of his own body; yet, without so regarding it, he would feel the pain, he would suffer. Every one of the evils of the world under which we are suffering springs out of the fact that we are linked together perforce, whether we will or not. And, whether it is the foot, some tribe in South Africa, or the hand in England, or the eye in Germany, or whatever organ it may be, that is diseased, disorganized, and therefore in pain, we must suffer with it. Even if we do not locate the pain, even if we do not think of the troubles that afflict us as having anything to do with those far-off causes, that does not make

it any less a fact. This world is an organism ; and it is utterly impossible for any one alone to attain complete perfection and happiness. He who is capable of going off by himself, and having his little selfish enjoyment all alone, shows that he is only half a man, in the first place ; and then he loses a thousand-fold more happiness that might come to him sympathetically, as the echo of the joy of the world, than all that he thus selfishly gains. So, whether you try or not, through selfishness or any other motive, to ignore this fact, to outwit this law, you will only fool yourself. The world is an organism ; and we must learn the fact, and to get over our prejudices, our misconceptions, our stupid ignorance in regard to the welfare of other people as related to our own welfare. We should know that, wherever there is health, prosperity, anywhere round the world, there is our health and our prosperity in all literalness.

Suppose the wheat crop utterly fails throughout Europe. Our farmers straightway rejoice, and think they are all going to get rich. But they forget that that which makes Europe poor makes it at the same time unable to buy. And if, perforce, they are compelled to buy wheat at any sacrifice, in order that they may live, they are just in so far incapacitated for buying anything else ; and so the markets of the world must suffer. And, while this may temporarily help the farmer, it at the same time cripples him indirectly, because the farmer's prosperity is bound up with the prosperity of his neighbors, with the cattle dealer, with the manufacturer, with all classes of industry. If Europe, in the markets of the world, is unable to buy their products, then his neighbors suffer ; and the farmer suffers with them, in spite of himself. You might just as well suppose that you could be in mid-ocean when the tide begins to fall, and keep your ship up to its original level while all the other

ships fall with the tide. Your interests — physical, mental, spiritual — are linked together ; and you must go up or down together.

We need, then, to study this problem, until we understand it. We need to re-enforce all those influences which tend to break down these barriers of the world. We need to help the sense of a common humanity.

Now, I wish to trace a few of the things that have tended to break down these barriers. In the ancient world there was a time when war was one of the great civilizers. When people came into conflict with each other, they learned to recognize the fact of a common humanity ; and, by this process, nations were bound together. The conquests of Alexander and of Rome tended to develop, as nothing else, perhaps, in the ancient world, this sense of the community of nations, the brotherhood of races, for the reason that they brought people face to face with each other and dispelled their old illusions. They had the most gross and crude misconceptions concerning other people. They believed that there was a race of men who carried their heads under their arms ; that there was a race of pygmies ; one of giants, whose heads almost touched the skies. They believed in a race of Amazons, in a race of centaurs, and in all manner of monstrosities, until they thus met and learned to know each other.

Another thing was instrumental in breaking down these barriers ; and that was commerce. Commerce has done more, perhaps, to develop a sense of community than even instituted and organized religions themselves. This is not an irreligious statement ; for commerce, if it be rightly conducted, deals first-hand with the forces and principles of that which is divine, and therefore is, whether it thinks of it or not, a part of the religious life and development of the

world. People began to trade with each other, sending their ships down the rivers, then across narrow inlets, and at last trusting themselves upon the sea; they founded colonies, as did the ancient Phœnicians; and thus nations learned to know each other. Then came the great missionary religions of the world,—another influence that tended to break down these barriers. The older religions, as I have said, were not only not missionary religions, but were antagonistic to the very idea. But there sprang up, about the sixth century before Christ, the first great missionary religion of the world,—the Buddhist. Believing that they had found the truth, that they were right, they felt it incumbent on them to preach their doctrines of human salvation to all the world. And they did it so successfully that to-day that body has more followers than any other name under heaven.

Then came Christianity, and then Islamism; and now the world is full of these missionary enterprises. And, however out of sympathy I may be with the feeling that prompts many of them,—the feeling that everybody who is not converted to the particular faith preached is going to be lost,—still I believe that they are doing a great work in civilizing the world, by coming face to face with these other peoples and religions, and so leading to mutual acquaintance.

Then there was the growth of modern science coincident with the discoveries of modern times,—the sailing of Columbus, the finding of a new continent. What has all this done? It has fired men with a desire to explore the world, in order to discover the physical facts of the planet. It has developed the science of comparative religion. It has discovered widely-sundered tribes in different parts of the world that tell themselves the same fairy stories. They

have learned that this humanity must have come from some common human centre, that there is a kinship of nations and of religions. We have found that all the great Aryan races can trace themselves back to one centre, one common home. All these things have helped develop the sense of the community of the world. Thus, we are beginning to learn that, underneath all these superficial distinctions, the race is one.

Let me give you one illustration to show you how very real is this statement. An English clergyman, in a recent number of the *Popular Science Monthly*, has demonstrated the fact—think how much that means—that all the people in England are genetically related, from the Queen down to the lowest tramp. How? Each one of us has a father and a mother. They had a father and a mother: so there were four. Back of them were eight. Carry on this multiplication far enough, for a few generations even, and you will find that the blood ancestry of every man widens until it is as large as the entire population of the kingdom. Here is the demonstration of the physical fact that the same blood flows in all our veins from highest to lowest, though we may think we live apart. It is probably true that there is no man on the face of the earth who is not related in a real sense to every other creature that lives and moves in the form of humanity. This is demonstrable as a scientific fact. We are learning then that, in spite of all these distinctions and differences, there is but one common human nature, common interests, common fears, common hopes, and a common destiny. We are learning what Burns saw and sung, that

“The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that.”

When we learn this completely, and, inspired by its spirit,

try to understand each other and sympathetically solve our troubles, we shall have reached that climax toward which the world is steadily tending, and toward which every force of civilization is driving us. We can retard it or we can help it on; but we cannot prevent its final coming. And the time will come when there will be for all intelligent people one religion, one cosmopolitan language, one sense of common humanity,—

“The parliament of man, the federation of the world.”

THE RISE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

It will perhaps be wise, at the outset of the three sermons which I propose to give on the labor problem, to look over the face of society, and note some of the general symptoms that obtrude themselves upon our attention. We shall then, perhaps, be able to find out what these symptoms mean,—what are the underlying causes of which they are only superficial manifestations.

The most noticeable thing about the modern world is the great, wide-spread, almost universal fact of popular unrest. Very few people seem to be quite satisfied with the condition in which they find themselves; and the laboring classes, — we speak of them as the laboring classes by way of distinction, though every true man, in the true sense of that word, belongs to a laboring class,—the laboring classes, I say, are naturally doing just what all the rest of the world is doing,—striving, wisely or unwisely, to better themselves. These social foundations, though we sometimes forget it, are alive with feelings, with passions, with impulses and wills of their own. And, if they do not choose to lie still, if they become weary of the burden resting upon them, if the fancy possesses them that this burden is heavier than it need be, if they seek to shake it off or to shift it at least, then there is, of necessity, disturbance, upheaval. In the old myth of the war of the Titans against Jupiter, it is said that he

hurled Mount Ætna upon their leader, Enceladus, and that there he lies through the ages, with this mountain weight upon him. And now and then, when he gets weary and wishes to shift his burden, he turns over upon the other side; and there is an eruption, an earthquake. So, when these social foundations get weary and wish to shift their burden or make it lighter, there is a social eruption, an earthquake. And I do not see how this can be avoided, so long as these foundations are free, capable of feeling, thinking, and desiring something better for themselves.

Now, what we need to know at the outset in regard to these movements of social unrest is whether they are symptoms of progress or of decay. What do they mean? Are they entirely the result of unreasonable dissatisfaction, a wicked purpose to create social disturbance and upset our social order and to bring about a condition of anarchy, or are they the results of that restlessness which always accompanies growth?

Suppose, in the spring, you were watching a plot of ground, and should see that the surface was beginning to be broken, lifting, showing everywhere rifts and rents. It does not lie quiet, but seems to be restless. What does it mean? It may mean the boring of animals that are productive of mischief; it may mean a wearing away by forces underneath the surface, that shall precipitate some sort of catastrophe; or it may mean the bursting of bulbs, the swelling of roots, the sending forth of shoots under the influence of the spring sun. That is, it may mean growth. In both cases, the grasses and flowers may be temporarily disturbed and destroyed, and the surface of the earth be less fair than it was.

What is the meaning of these social symptoms that pass under the general name of the labor movement? It seems

to me easy for a person holding the old theory of the universe to think of them as only indicative of depravity and social decay, because, according to that theory, the world began in perfection, and has been constantly running down a sliding scale toward perdition, except individual cases that have been arrested by a divine hand. But, by a person who has accepted the demonstration of the fact of evolution, I see not how any such hopeless or pessimistic opinion can for a moment be entertained. Individuals, of course, individual societies, individual nations, may wilfully or ignorantly fail to comply with the laws and conditions of growth, and so cease to be. But the world, as a whole, under the impulse of the divine hand that has been leading and guiding it all through the ages, is on the advance, and must advance, unless that almighty arm should grow weak and the universe fall into nothingness. We should then be no longer perplexed by problems or questions of any kind.

It seems to me then, so far as I can read the signs of the times, that this popular unrest is a hopeful fact; and, though it be accompanied by a thousand things that are unpleasant and disagreeable, interferences with business, the upsetting of the plans of this man or that, yet, on the whole and in the long run, it points toward the betterment of the world. For what is the summing up of the work of human civilization? I believe that it can be put into a phrase. From the beginning of the world until to-day there has been going on, in all departments of society, a constant development of the individual. *The rise of the individual*, then, may stand as a formula containing the total results of the world's civilization. I am aware that Tennyson has expressed a contrary opinion in the famous line from "Locksley Hall," so often quoted,—

"And the individual withers, and the world is more and more."

And in one sense, indeed, this is true. Relatively to the general condition of society, the individual does not count for so much now as he did in the olden times. When Cæsar was master of the fate of Rome, and so of the destiny of the world, Cassius might say of him, as Shakspeare represents him as doing in a conversation with Brutus : —

“Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus, and we petty men
Walk under his huge legs and peep about
To find ourselves dishonorable graves.”

This might be true in the ancient world ; for, as we look back on the pathway of human history, we see individuals towering above the common level of the masses, as no individuals of the modern world can tower. But this is not because the individual man of the olden time was grander than the individual man of to-day. It rather indicates the fact that the social level has been lifted, that there are thousands of individuals to-day who are intelligent, cultured, mighty, trained masters of themselves, able to help guide and control the destinies of the world. A man five feet tall would be lost in a Boston crowd, because the average height is more than that. But put him among Gulliver's Lilliputians, and he becomes a giant. We have only to go back a few hundred years to the time when a man was distinguished as a scholar by the fact that he could write his name. He was called a clerk, if he knew how to read and write. Sir Walter Scott could congratulate himself on the fact that he was the first great novelist of the world : the field was all open, and he could fill it ! But there are now novelists, poets, essayists, authors, by the thousand, who will be unknown to the next generation, who would have been distinguished, and would have had a name in literature for-

ever, had they lived and written their identical works two thousand years ago. The whole world is lifted; and this means the rise of the individual, the development of the man and the woman.

Society, in all its departments, began in a wild, undeveloped, unorganized individualism. Then came various kinds of combinations; out of these, larger aggregates and combinations; as the result of these, tyrannies in religion, in society, in the State, in the industrial world, the might of individual men ruling and dominating their fellows. But along with this there went on also processes of culture and development of the individual man and woman, until at last these combinations loosened their bonds, and the individual reasserted his rights; and, through a spiral ascent, humanity is to come out on the higher plane of a perfect, free individualism. It will end, in one sense, where it started,—in individualism, but individualism in a cultured and completer sense. Then these individualities will combine freely and intelligently. So there will result perfect freedom of the perfect man and the perfect woman. This spiral ascent of humanity from mere lawless, unorganized individualism to cultured, free, intelligent, and voluntarily organized combinations, this is the history of human development; and in this it is to end.

Now, I wish to give a few illustrations of this in some other departments of human life, that we may thus come to see the same principle at work in the department of labor and industry, and that I may help you, if I may, to see what I believe to be true,—that this unrest of the world means only the development of the individuality of the people and their rise to the position of free and self-contained men and women.

We may look over the world, and see nihilism in Russia,

internationalism in Germany, agrarianism in England and Ireland, and in our own country strikes, lock-outs, efforts after higher wages, after fewer hours of labor, better homes, better food, better clothing, more leisure. We may be alarmed by these things, if we know them only superficially, as disturbances in our social order or as interferences in the conduct of our business, as an attempt of people to rise, as we think, out of their proper sphere. But, if we see them as symptoms of the growth of humanity, we may get over our fears; and, instead of trying to repress efforts which are irrepressible,—so producing earthquakes,—we may become wise enough to treat them as we do all other great natural forces of the world,—try to understand and guide them to the accomplishment of satisfactory results.

Let me give you an illustration of the rise of the individual in religion, so that you may see that this is the law of human growth everywhere. There are no people to-day in the condition that we know must have been the primal condition of the human race,—that of extreme individualism, people almost wholly unorganized. We cannot go back far enough in our investigations to find the world in this state; but we know it must have started there. The first religious condition that we know about historically may be illustrated, for example, by that of one of the patriarchal tribes among the Hebrews. The head of the tribe is the priest, the head of the religion. But the individual member of the tribe has no religious freedom. It never occurs to him that he has any right to think as he pleases, to worship as he pleases, to join in the religious rites and ceremonies or not as he pleases, to invent rites and ceremonies of his own if he pleases. Religion is a thing of the tribe; and the individual does not count, except as he partakes of this tribal religion. It has come about—we cannot stop to

examine how—that the tribe believes that a certain god is its god; that he wants the people to do certain things in a certain way; that he wants them to believe so and so about him, to act so and so in regard to each other, to say over certain words at certain times, to offer certain sacrifices and perform certain ceremonies and rituals. The individual has a part in this as a member of the tribe; but he has absolutely no freedom, no such thing as individuality in the religious life. This sprung out of the fact that, in all the ancient world, people were dealt with in the mass. There was a corporate sense of right and wrong, a corporate sense of responsibility.

The Old Testament says, for instance, that David, on a certain occasion, decided to have a census of the people taken. This was regarded as wrong,—as an indication on the part of the king of distrust in the power of God, of a tendency to put his confidence in the number of his people, in the number of fighting men that he could raise and equip. It was trusting in an arm of flesh instead of in his deity; and so God is represented as angry. But whom does he punish? David? No: David goes scot free, except so far as his people are weakened. To that extent he is injured in his official capacity as king. But thousands and thousands of people—men, women, and children, who had nothing whatever to do with taking the census, and perhaps did not even know that it was to be taken—are put to death by the divine vengeance. There was no individual responsibility,—corporate responsibility everywhere.

Take another illustration. During the Middle Ages, the authorities of Spain drove out the Jews and the Moors from their kingdom. Why? Not simply that they disliked the Jews and the Moors. Word had come to them from the Vatican that the divine wrath was hanging over them and

threatening to smite them, unless they drove out the heretic and the unbeliever. Wrath against whom? Against the people of Spain. But the people of Spain, in our modern sense of the word, were not responsible. No sense of individual responsibility was then developed in matters of religion. It was corporate responsibility everywhere. It never seemed to occur to them that God might deal individually, if he chose, with the Moors and the Jews. No: unless the authorities drove them out, Spain must suffer.

In ancient Athens, it was the same. There was the public worship of the gods of the State; and every man, by virtue of his citizenship, was expected to participate in this worship. He had no right to have any opinions of his own. He must share in this corporate religious life at his own peril, if he neglected or refused. When Socrates dared to think on his own account, you know the result. There was a price to be paid for heresy in all the ancient religions.

Christianity, indeed, introduced the principle of freedom tending toward the development which we are rejoicing in. Jesus was looked upon as the one high priest: there was one Father in heaven, and all men were brethren. As the result of the work of Paul, not only the Jews, but the Gentiles, were included; not only the patrician, but the plebeian. The rich and the poor, the slave and the free, were all alike children of the one God. This was the principle which Paul introduced. It has not even yet, after all these ages, free course and sway over human life; but it is coming. The Catholic Church tried to maintain the old principle of corporate life and corporate responsibility. It was heretical to believe in individual freedom of thought or life; and it was against this that the Luther revolt was aimed. This was another great stroke in the direction of freedom for the individual. It taught each man

and woman to read the Bible, study, think, believe, and worship as they pleased. This was the principle. Protestantism, we say, is all split and divided up into sects ; and we find movements whose object is to combine these branches of the Church into some one grand plan of union. But it will not work ; and it never ought to work. The logical result and outcome of Protestantism is individualism in religion. Carried to its full extent, it is the absolute right of every man and every woman to think and worship as he or she pleases, with no one to let or make afraid. But the result of this development of individualism in religion will be, by and by, a grander combination than any Catholic Church that the wide world has ever seen. For what is to be the outcome of it ? It is to be the union, on a higher plane of perfect freedom, of free intelligencies on the basis of that which is scientifically demonstrated as true in the realm of religion. In the future there will be one dominant religion for all sensible men and women.

I pass over with a word the same development in society, only saying that this principle has been at work there.

Let us look at it now in government. The world started without government, every man for himself ; but he was ignorant, untrained, barbaric man. Then came, through the family and the growth of the tribe, first, small combinations ; then, larger unions of tribes that were supposed to be more or less akin to one another, for the sake of organizing a power capable of self-protection and self-defence against the world. Thus, gradually, nations grew ; and, as they grew, they were put on the defensive, obliged to fight for life, for possessions. They developed, as all armies do, the principle of tyranny, the absolute authority of some chieftain or leader or king, no matter by what name he was called. So there sprang up the great empires of the world. Then the

problem to be solved was so to organize that there might be this combined power and, at the same time, freedom. Only a few nations have ever solved that problem, and that is the reason of the wreck of so many empires that have strewn the pathway of the world's progress in the past. Organized too strongly, too much compacted, too much governed, like all things that are not flexible, that cannot give and adapt themselves to circumstances, they were shattered and broken in pieces; and the world was obliged to recombine once more. The problem to be solved is that of having some central power able to protect life and property and preserve order, combined with the perfect freedom of the individual within the limits of his own personal rights. That problem the world is gradually solving. It is this principle which underlies the struggle and discontent in Russia to-day, and that crops out as Nihilism. It is the principle underlying the struggles of the oppressed for the right to live, to be, to think, to act as they will; the struggle of the individual to throw off the burdens that oppress and crush him. This is the key to the disturbances in every part of Europe, to what is going on in England and Ireland. It is the rise of the individual in government. It has come, in England, to such an extent that practically they have democracy there as much as we have here.

There was a time when the existence of a king was a step ahead, a step from tyranny toward the protection of individual right. When there was a contest between powerful barons, as has often been the case in France and England, the individual suffered a thousand-fold more than when under one central authority that was able to control the struggling and fighting barons; and so the tendency was toward one sovereign ruler. But along with this process of development has been a growth of individual rights com-

bined with public order. This we have attained in this country; and this perfecting of the individual in all departments of his life is the ideal outcome of human political history; it is the culmination and crown of the world's political development. When we have perfected it in our government, as we shall in time; and when the individual has trained himself in brain, in morals, in spiritual life,—there will be this perfect order and perfect individualism.

Now let us look at this principle in the development of the world's industries. In order to do this, I shall have to review, as briefly as I can consistently with clearness, the principal labor systems of the world, and show you that this development of the individual has been the power that has destroyed successively system after system, and that it is the mainspring and motive force underlying all the unrest and upheaval of to-day.

Go back to the barbaric condition of things, and you will find that the world's drudgery was performed by women. The men were warriors. They fought, they hunted, they protected the tribe; but they looked with scorn and contempt upon the idea of doing anything that could be called labor. So, here, the highest aristocracy and the lowest barbarism of the world are at one. Only a little while ago,—to show that this condition of things is not yet outgrown,—in dealing with a chief of one of our tribes of Indians, it was found that he was advising his people against accepting the gift of land and agricultural implements from the government. "We are warriors," said he. "We do not work: squaws work." This was the dominant labor system of the barbaric age; and that movement on the part of women, which is not yet completed, toward the assertion of their own individuality, toward the attainment of the right to be considered persons in every respect, is the logical outcome

of human progress, so far as the status of women is concerned.

The next labor system of the world was slavery. Tribes and nations conquered weaker, inferior peoples, and made them do the drudgery. But civilization has progressed, until at last we recognize slaves, not merely as a mass of workers, as property to be bought and sold, to be told to do this or that as the master wills, but we recognize the right of each to be a man, to be the master of his own individuality. Here, again, that system of the world's labor broke down, because of the rise of the individual and the recognition of individual rights,—the right not only to think and to feel and to suffer, but the right to be, to labor, to control the fruition of labor, to do whatsoever one would within the limits of his own personality, so long as he did not infringe upon the rights of the personalities of others.

The next great labor system is that which we find in those countries where there were distinctions of caste. It came to its finest and fullest completion in India. Here the priests, on account of their supposed special relationship to the gods, stood at the top of the social system. Next below them were the warriors, then the commercial classes, then the agricultural laborers and workers, and then, beneath all, the pariahs, or outcasts. Under this system, a man was born into his particular station in life,—that station into which, as the Prayer Book very conveniently for the upper classes says, "God chose to call them." It has been a great grief to these upper classes that the lower classes were not willing to be content with this supposed divine calling, and stay in the place of convenient service for which they seemed providentially designed. A man was born into a particular caste, and his life-work was laid out for him by that fact. Nobody could enter the

caste, nobody could leave it. No individual rights were regarded. Life must run in the groove which had been created by the forces of society, from birth until death.

Then came the labor system that was represented by the guilds of the Middle Ages. Here for the first time there began to emerge more of the powers and the rights of the individual. Men organized themselves into guilds, but there was a system of apprenticeship and training; and, however free to enter the guild, men had only a very limited liberty inside it. The outlines of his life were marked out for him by superior forces.

Next after this came that system which we are proud of as the one that theoretically obtains in the modern world. At last, we say, we have freedom of contract. Theoretically, at any rate, each man is at liberty to choose his own life-work or profession. He can stay in a certain State or he can leave it. He can work in a certain shop or for a certain master, or he can decline to do so. He can do what he pleases with his earnings. If he is not satisfied with one trade, he can leave it and learn another. Here is, apparently, perfect freedom of contract. But,—and this is the point I wish to emphasize,—in spite of the fact that the individual has risen out of the oppression of the mass, the coercive power of the majority, and asserted his right to be recognized, still we have not attained perfect freedom of contract. When we do attain it, the labor problem will be solved; for we cannot conceive any higher, any better condition of things than that each man and woman shall be free to go his or her way, to choose his or her own profession or life-work, or to do what he or she pleases with the earnings they gain. This is the ideal. But, as I said, it is not yet attained in reality. Why?

Let me note a few things that stand in the way of freedom

of contract as a practical working principle in our industries. Before two parties can contract freely, both of them must be able not only to accept, but to reject any or all conditions or terms that may be offered. How is it to-day? Here, for example, is a wealthy corporation. The men who make it up are individually fortunate enough to be rich. They can let their works lie idle, if they please. They lose money; but they are not made to suffer by it. They are not on the borders of starvation. They still live in fine houses, keep their servants, horses, carriages, attend expensive amusements, and have their usual luxuries. They can do as they please, because of their fund of capital. Suppose, on the other hand, here is a man, thirty or forty years of age, who has learned a particular trade and knows no other, who has a wife and four, five, six, or eight children dependent on him, who has nothing but his hands with which to support them. If he does not work, instead of having a pleasant house, with horses, carriages, and servants at his disposal, he is unable even to pay his rent. He must be turned out into the street, with starvation before him or pauperism. It is absurd to speak of freedom of contract between these two, when one of the contracting parties is bound and helpless as the result of his position, and the other is able to do as he pleases, and can say, "Accept what I offer or reject it, as you please; it makes no difference to me."

When, then, shall we reach freedom of contract? It is to be the result of the working of many forces. But it will only be when the individual laborers, through education, self-control, industry, and economy, have laid something by, so that they pass over the line which divides labor from capital.

Every laborer in America ought to be a capitalist to some slight extent; and almost every laborer might be. But he

must become wiser than he is to-day. He must learn to be industrious. He must get rid of his vices. He must not waste his wages. He must learn to save, if it be not more than a penny a week. Almost any healthy man can save something, if he will, and so put a weapon into his hands that will enable him to fight off the evil conditions that threaten him on every hand. He must learn not to marry quite so early in life. I believe there is a certain amount of reason in a right understanding of the doctrines of Malthus. A man marries very young, and, before he has anything but his hands with which to take care of wife and children, cumbers himself with a family that he is not able adequately to support, and thus becomes a victim to his circumstances. I think a man commits a crime who pledges himself to guard the happiness of a woman and helpless children until he has fitted himself to do it.

The laborer, then, must learn this lesson. There are many things to be said on the other side; but the laborer himself must be economical, industrious, saving of his wages, and by education, by learning to do more than one thing, gain such control of his own individuality that he shall be a free partner in a free contract, able on his own account to accept or refuse the terms offered. In some way, labor must be organized on one hand and capital on the other, so that they can stand facing each other as free, friendly, self-controlling, independent powers. Then they can possibly treat, and settle the problems that to-day threaten their peace and prosperity.

The outcome of human history, then, it seems to me, so far as it affects this problem of labor as well as other departments of life, is to be this rise of the individual into free personal self-control.

Let me close with a few verses that indicate the tendency,

and point to this outcome of which I am bold enough to dream : —

O People, once a mass held down,
The plaything of the priest and king,
You yet shall come into your own,
And to you earth her tribute bring.

Dethroned, the gods of wrong and hate ;
Dethroned, the old-time kingly power ;
Dethroned, the priesthood's selfish state :
Reason enthroned, then comes your hour ! -

The spelling-book shall be the key
To thrust back in the lock of fate
The musty bolts of destiny,
And bid you enter now, though late.

But, on God's dial-plate of time,
'Tis never late for him who stands
Self-centred in a trust sublime,
With mastered force and thinking hands.

The world, then, all before you lies ;
The stars fight for you ; and there waits
A future where bold enterprise
Flings open wide the long-shut gates.

SOCIALISM

I AM aware that this is a great theme, and that there may be an appearance of presumption about attempting to discuss it in one discourse. If, however, any one asks me why I make the attempt, why I try to deal with so vast a problem, I reply, Because socialism has already begun to deal with us. In the great crises of life men may not be infallibly wise; but to do the best they can is certainly better than doing nothing at all. I do not claim to have any exceptional wisdom on the subject; but I believe it to be the duty of every man, in the present condition of the social world, to do what he can to contribute clear thought and earnest action. But, if there is any one here this morning who does not feel the importance, the present need, of dealing with such questions, I feel clear in my own mind that it is time he did. I shall therefore do the best I can, in the time allowed me, in telling you what I think concerning this great movement.

At the outset, we need to understand that there is no sacredness about any special type or form of social organization. It may be very unwise for certain persons to oppose our present social order. The substitute that they propose in place of it may not be so good as the present condition of things. They may display a great deal of passion. They may go about it in a very wrong way. But

there is no reason why we should question their perfect right to discuss the social order, their right to improve it, their right radically to reconstruct it, if they are able. For, as I said, there is nothing inherently sacred about any type of social organization. Society exists for man, and not man for society. Organizations are for the sake of individual well-being, and not individual well-being for the sake of organizations. And the outcome and end of it all should be such a social order as will conduce to the largest, the most widespread, the highest and truest individual life. Now, when we consider the essential principle involved, there is not a single person here this morning who is not a socialist. All men are so, in one sense of the word. What do I mean? I mean that we grant the principle that society has a right at any time, under any circumstances, when the necessity shall call for it, to subordinate the individual to the public welfare. That is the essence of socialism. Every time we pay a tax, we concede the right of society to take a certain amount of our money, or of our personal property, for public, general uses. Every time, then, you pay a tax, you concede the righteousness of the central principle of socialism. When, during the war, we submitted to the draft, we conceded the right of the State not only to take a certain amount of our property for public uses, but to take away our individual liberty, to compel us to leave home and to go into positions of danger, to take life itself, if need be. I say then, that, so far as the central principle of socialism is concerned, we all concede it in a thousand ways.

But socialism, in the modern sense of that word, and the way in which it is used in newspapers and reviews, that manifests itself in a London mob, that finds expression through the philosophical and social writing of such men as Fourier, Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Lassalle, Herr

Most, and Karl Marx, is something different from this recognition of the principle concerning which I have just spoken. It is a definite proposal to reorganize society, and the attempt to carry out this principle, not merely in time of war, not merely in regard to taxation, but in regard to every form of industrial and social life. By classing the above names together, I do not at all mean to put them on the same level. Their spirit and methods are most widely at variance. But they all indicate some type of the present unrest.

Socialism, then, as the word is used now, proposes to reorganize human society. At present, individuals are left free,—free to acquire property and to own that property, and do with it just as they please. They are free to labor or to be idle; free to enter any occupation that they please, and to leave it when they please. In other words, individual right, individual freedom, the individual initiative, is recognized everywhere. It is an essential principle of society, as at present organized. Socialism proposes to change this. There are a good many different types of it. I cannot outline them all or discriminate them carefully. I propose, in a general way, to treat of that form of socialism that is now uppermost in the popular mind.

Socialism, then, as that word is commonly used to-day, proposes to abolish a large part of this individual liberty, individual property, individual initiative, and substitute the dominant power of society instead. The socialists would have the government take possession of all land, and allot it, on its own terms, to individuals. Socialism would have society own all the railroads and telegraphs, factories, mills, and implements of production of every kind. It would attempt to see to it that every man was provided with work to do, and that he was supplied with his fair share, whatever

that might be, of the total product. In a word, this, or some form of this, is what the socialists are after.

We are not to judge socialism by its loudest, noisiest, most demonstrative representatives. The wisest and noblest among them, who have made it a power among thoughtful men, who have helped it on its intellectual side, were some of the best men that ever lived. Let me give you the essential principle of it as set down by Saint-Simon. His motto was: "From each one according to his capacity; to each one according to his works." The motto of Louis Blanc was substantially the same, only a little more communistic in its outcome: "From each one according to his capacity; to each one according to his needs." Let me give you the aim and purpose of one other man, a representative socialist in London at the present time, a man whom, through his writings, I have learned to love,—Mr. William Morris, the poet and artist. He has left his aristocratic position, and taken his place among the ranks of the common socialists, and is doing all he can by personal influence to bring about a reconstruction of the social order; and this is the claim which he puts forward in the forefront of his efforts: "It is right and necessary that all men should have work which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious." Certainly, a very desirable condition of things, if it could be brought about. This then, in general, is the aim of socialism: the reconstruction of the social order; making society dominant instead of leaving things to the individual; destroying the competitive system and establishing forcibly, if need be, the system of co-operation.

Now, before we stop to criticise socialism, or to abuse it or call it hard names, it seems the wisest thing for us to try

to understand it; to look over the present social order, and see some of the reasons for the existence of socialism, some of the excuses which it offers for itself, some of the wrongs that it proposes to rectify. Let us see, in other words, whether our present social order is the perfectly working machine we might desire; whether its products are so satisfactory that we could desire nothing better.

I have had occasion to tell you more than once — and yet it cannot be repeated too often, so important is the truth contained in it — that all our social problems are the result, the outcome, of struggles connected with social progress. They are not signs of disease, they are signs of growth; and this movement of socialism is no exception to the general statement.

Go back a thousand years, and you will find the peasantry in every country ignorant, unable to read or write, with few industrial tools or implements in their hands, with no knowledge of or communication with the other peasantries in other countries; each one isolated, trodden down, working simply to live, with no thought, no hope, beyond its present condition. There was no socialism then. There were no conditions out of which any such socialistic movement could spring. What was necessary that socialism might manifest itself? First, the modern system of democracy in government; liberty, freedom for the individual, release from their old bonds. It was necessary that hope should enter the hearts of the people, and make them feel that it was, after all, possible for them to be something higher and better than their fathers had been. Then there must be this industrial development, the establishment of international communication, so that the people in different parts of the world might feel the bond of a common human sympathy. The people in Italy to-day thrill and throb with every pulse of

movement and hope of the people of America. There is no longer any isolation ; the world is flowing together as one. If there is a rise in the tide in one nation, there must be at least restlessness in all. The people have learned to read and write ; and they have learned to think, not very wisely, perhaps not very deeply. They illustrate that famous line of Pope,—

“A little learning is a dangerous thing.”

But the cure for that is not to take away the little learning that they have, but to furnish more. Socialism, then, has sprung out of the industrial growth, the democratic principle, and the growing intelligence of the people of the modern world. Out of these three things have come a sense of a common humanity and this strong hope of social betterment. This is the underlying root, the mainspring, of modern socialism.

Now, I propose to ask you to look over the face of society, and see some of the reasons that socialists give why it ought to be reconstructed. I do not say that I shall agree with them concerning these reasons. But the socialist leaders are some of them wise men. The great majority of them are humane men ; and some of them are among the noblest that the world has ever seen. Apart from a few noisy, blatant demagogues who prefer to get into office and be supported by their official position rather than work for a living, the great socialist leaders have undoubtedly been philanthropic, earnest, sincere men. Let us see some of the evils that they think ought to be cured, and that they propose socialism as the means of curing. After looking at them, I shall tell you what I think of these means.

In the first place there has been an enormous increase of wealth. Invention and the introduction of machinery in the place of hand-labor have made it possible for society to

manufacture almost an unlimited quantity of the good things of life. Such an extension of the power of society to produce the things that are wanted for personal and social use could not have been dreamed of fifty or a hundred years ago. Society possesses such an enormous creative power that we are to-day talking on every hand of overproduction as the cause of the evils that afflict us, of commercial depression and crises. Yet think of the absurdity of this idea,—society made poor on account of the enormous amount of its possessions! There can be no overproduction until every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth possesses all that is needed or can be used. And yet we are face to face with the phenomenon of such an enormous quantity of wheat and food materials of various kinds that they cannot be sold for a profit, and people so poor that they cannot buy them, and therefore, in the face of this enormous food supply, starvation; such an enormous quantity of clothing produced that it cannot be sold for a profit, and people going cold and naked,—enormous quantities of everything, and yet want, want, on every hand.

I do not say that the socialist's method of curing this evil is a wise one; but certainly it is an evil, and certainly it were wise for somebody to seek some method of cure.

Then, again, it is charged against our modern system of competition that it is enormously wasteful of the public wealth. Let me give you one concrete illustration from many. It has been estimated—and, as I believe, correctly—that the present railroad system of America has cost a thousand million dollars more than was needed in order to provide the country with all the railroad facilities that its business required. A thousand million dollars of the public wealth have been wasted in this land alone. And let us remember that the opportunity for any one of us, as individ-

uals, to get possession of our small share of the public wealth depends upon the total quantity of that public wealth. Take out a thousand millions of that public wealth from the country, and think how it reduces the possibility, for thousands of persons, of success in their attempts to get possession of the little that is required to supply their personal needs.

Then there is another evil that is pointed out in the modern world; and that is the gathering of enormous fortunes into the hands of a few individuals or a few great corporations. Not that alone,—for that might not necessarily be evil,—but the gathering of these fortunes into these few hands, and then their selfish, conscienceless use, as though they belonged to them and to them alone, as though they had a right to do with them what they pleased. There is waste, extravagance, luxury, an absence of conscience, an absence of righteousness, of any regard for public welfare, on the parts of hundreds and thousands of these millionaire individuals and millionaire corporations. In one sense, it is true that it would make no sort of difference to society whether capital was held in one hand or another, in one hand or a million, if only it were used for the public good. But these men treat this whole business as if the money belonged simply to them. Yet they owe to modern society and the contributions of the great millions of the world the ability to come into possession of these fortunes; and so they are not their own in the sense that they may do with them as they please.

Let me give you an illustration as to how these great fortunes are sometimes used; and I shall not shrink from calling names. Take the case of the late Mr. Vanderbilt. He or his father rendered a grand service to the country in the railroad system between here and the West, by enabling

any man to bring from Chicago to New York food supply for an entire year at the cost of one day's labor. But yet beyond this he ought to have gone in justice, but he did not. A law was passed in New York, limiting the earnings of the New York Central, saying it should not earn more than a certain percentage of the investment, the idea being that, when they reached that amount, the cost of transportation should be lowered and the public get some small return for the contributions it had made to his wealth. But what does he do? When the earnings reach that figure, instead of lowering the cost of transportation, he issues an enormous quantity of new stock that represents no outlay, no cost, simply for the benefit of himself and a few friends, and so pockets the additional earnings of the road, pocketing thousands and thousands of dollars that were not interest on the real value or cost of the road, but on a paper margin which he himself had created, and showing so little regard for the public interests involved that, when the suggestion was made that the public had some right in the matter, he gave utterance to his standard of individual liberty in that profane classic phrase, "Damn the public!" Is there any reason why the public should not feel that things are not ideally perfect when the millionaire individuals and the millionaire corporations earn and use their money in this purely selfish, unsocial spirit and way?

There is another evil, more pronounced in England, but growing here,—the waste of public lands, their accumulation in the hands of a few people, who keep them useless or for their own personal pleasure, or for speculative ends, so as to make it difficult or impossible for thousands of workers to gain a footing or even to earn an honest living. I do not wonder that there is a threatened revolution in regard to this in England. Lands stolen by kings and

lords a few hundreds of years ago are given by the thousand acres to favorites,—no justice or equity anywhere; while the great masses of the people seek in vain for a footing to earn their own bread.

Then it is said, and said with an appearance of justice and right, that a large number of the vices and crimes of society spring out of the fact that so many thousands of people are hopeless, that they find it so difficult to earn an honest living that they become desperate, that they fail to see any justice in those who are ruling over them and who pretend to be of a higher order of society, and so their own sense of right and truth and purity is broken down; and they enter into the conscienceless competition, the principle of which is, "Let him get hold of property who can, and let him keep it who is able, without regard to the means employed." These, and such as these, are the charges which are made by socialists against the present order of society. I have not attempted to give a full catalogue. But these specimens indicate the whole. I do not give my opinion now as to the right or wrong of these charges.

But now comes the question whether the cure which socialism offers for all these evils is likely to be a successful one; that is, an ideal social order, in which every man has an opportunity to labor according to his ability, and receives the fruit of that labor. Socialism says that this is not done in the present condition of things; and it certainly is not. So far, socialism is right. And, now, it proposes to substitute this new method; and it becomes necessary for us to examine it, to see if it is likely to succeed.

It proposes, then, to take land, railroads, mills, factories, and all the means of production out of the hands of individuals, and place these enormous powers in the hands of the State, or society, however it shall be organized, so that

society may give each man work and furnish each man wages. Let us look, then, at this proposal of socialism, and see what we can make of it.

I have first a word to say in regard to the dynamite or violent type of socialism. I believe that there are at least excuses, if not justification, for it in some parts of the world; but, whatever may be true under the iron despotisms of the Old World, there is no excuse for it here. Any man in America has a perfect right to hold, to discuss, to advocate and propagate any ideas he pleases. He has a perfect right to get as many as possible to agree with him; then he may elect men to the General Court or legislature of the State, or to the National Legislature, who shall be in favor of carrying out his ideas. He has a perfect right to try any new social theory or scheme that he pleases. So there is no excuse for dynamite or violence. And I believe that the true way to meet that kind of socialism is with the sharpest kind of bayonets and the hottest kind of shot. Any attempt at violence should be met with a larger violence on the part of the State, that should crush it out on the instant.

Leaving violence out of the question, let us look at the theory that the socialists propose. It seems to me that they overlook two important facts. First, that society is not manufactured, but is a growth. It is one of the shallowest of all delusions,—this idea that a certain set of theorists can come together and reorganize society on paper and introduce the kingdom of heaven by the ballot. Society has grown to be what it is. Nobody ever made it, any more than they made an oak or an elm; so that the very first principle of socialism—the idea of radical reconstruction of society at once, according to a preconceived theoretical plan—is sheer nonsense and the baldest absurdity. I am aware that the wisest socialists do not expect any such sudden results. But many, not so wise, talk as if they did.

They overlook another thing, and that is that rearranging does not change character. The evils of society spring out of the evil that is in individual hearts and lives. It is pride, it is selfishness, it is envy, it is ambition, it is greed, it is dishonesty, it is thievery, it is cheating,—it is all these personal evils and vices that are the causes of the evils of society. If I had a dozen beans in my hand, arranged in a particular order, and I should rearrange them by a new plan, they would be beans just as they were before. I should make no change in the materials with which I dealt. If any of them were specked or spotted before, they would be so afterward. So let the socialists reorganize society as much as they please; but, when they are through with the reorganization, men are selfish, men are ready to cheat, men are lazy, ready to get all the profit they can, and shirk their share of responsibility,—in fact, they are just the same as they are to-day.

Another thing seems to me fatal to the socialists' scheme. If there is any one thing clear, as the result of the study of the history of humanity, it is the tendency to the rise of the individual, the development of individual liberty. The world has been struggling after this from the dawn of civilization; and the socialists now ask us to turn right about, and go diametrically in the face of the total course of human progress up to the present hour. Their scheme, if carried out, would be the most hard and fast cast-iron despotism that the world ever saw. It would lay its hand on every man, woman, and child, and compel them to do certain things which they are not inclined to do now. If they were inclined to do what the socialists want them to do, there would be no need of this reorganization. They would therefore have to compel them to do what they do not wish; and the nation would be resolved into one general police

court, compelling individuals to work, and then disposing by force of the results of their labor when they were through. This, of course, of any forcible, revolutionary reconstruction. If men became socialists by persuasion, then this objection might not hold.

It seems to me, then, very absurd to suppose that society is to go back on itself, after this fashion, and deny all the grandest and best results of social progress that have yet been attained.

Another serious difficulty is that the first step that society took in the progress of civilization was a step toward individual ownership of property. Communism is simply original barbarism. The first step that the world took toward civilization was out of communism and in the direction of individual ownership. Men will work, will deny themselves, will plan, will struggle, will do almost anything, to feel that they have gained something that they can call their own, something they can use as they will, something they can give to their children, something they can transmit to their posterity when they are ready to leave the world. This desire for individual ownership is the strongest and chiefest motive force for the production of wealth. Now, then, as the general well-being depends on the total production of society, it is absurd to suppose that this general well-being can be subserved by diminishing the total production. There is no question about it. More wealth is produced under the influence of this desire for individual ownership than would be under the communistic type of society. Perhaps the time will come when men will work as hard for other people, for tramps and paupers, as they do for themselves; but that time has not come yet; and, until it does come, a larger amount of wealth will be produced by leaving people free to seek the things they desire.

Then there is another thing that these socialists overlook. The highest, the finest things in the world, those things that conduce more than anything else to the growth of civilization, are the things that are above and beyond those that minister to the common needs. There are two forces concerned in social progress: the conservative, that clings to the old; and the tendency ever to branch out in tentative fashion, this way and that, after something new. And society must be so organized as to give the largest possible encouragement to this upper, higher, broader out-reaching of the individual and social life. It seems to me plain that, if society had been always organized after the socialist's ideal, the best things in the world would never have been produced. Suppose, in the reign of Elizabeth, all the people in England had had their tasks assigned to them by a central committee of the government. Suppose they had laid their hands on every man, and said, Here is your task: do so much work, or so much, and we will give you so much of the social wealth. Do you suppose any committee or any government, any parliament or king, would have been wise enough to have laid its fingers on the shoulder of William Shakspeare, and said, Go and write "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" and "King Lear"? They would have thought that doing that would add nothing to the world's wealth. It would have taken away a pair of strong arms from the world's work; and they would have seemed to be supporting him in what appeared to be idleness. Suppose there had been such a committee in Rome at the time of the Renaissance: would it have asked Michelangelo to make his Moses and his David, or to paint those wonderful frescos of the Sistine Chapel?

Supposing there had been a committee in Judea controlling all the actions of men: would such a committee have

laid its finger on the young Nazarene, and asked him to give us the Sermon on the Mount, to have followed the career of a seer, prophet, and teacher? What were the chances of their electing him to such work? Rather, they would have hindered him from doing it. Indeed, they killed him for doing it. The larger part of the wealth of this world, in the higher sense of the word,—mental, moral, spiritual production,—has come from these seers, leaders, martyrs, men ahead of their time, working in the teeth of popular prejudice, under the impulse of an inspiration that made them sure that they were right. Socialism, communism, would tend to cut off all these, and reduce society to the dead level of what it would regard as utility, usefulness. The artists, the poets, the scientists, the musicians, who have thus enriched the higher side of human life, would have had no place, and could not possibly have accomplished their magnificent results. Even on the level of the material well-being of the world, I believe the application of this principle would be disastrous. A large part of the inventions of the world—those that have made the industrial life richer and mightier in productive power—have been opposed by the majority at the time, disbelieved in: they are the result of the individual initiative fighting for a higher idea than was possible to the masses at the time.

Another thing. If people left to themselves—left free to use the best means that they can discover in carrying on these great operations—make blunders and mistakes a thousand times, should we be certain that the central committee elected by the popular majority would be wise enough to manage the world? It would need a superhuman wisdom to manage society on the socialist's theory. Under the spur of competition, the wisest men do get to the front; that is, it is a struggle for life and the survival of the fittest. Sup-

pose there had been a popular vote to elect a man to manage the New York Central Railroad: what are the chances that the people would have chosen a man capable of doing it as well as Mr. Vanderbilt did? A thousand to one against it. It is the man who gets to the front as the result of the ceaseless struggle of competition that proves his fitness to get to the front.

Another thing. If people are not going to be radically reconstructed in their character, how should we be certain that these men elected to manage the interests of society would be all of them angels, that the world would be managed better than the people manage it now? We should have to choose from just the kind of people that there are now; and our experience in regard to State and national management of business affairs does not seem especially encouraging in this direction. They have not, generally, been managed with a greater amount of virtue and honesty than private corporations and individual enterprises. If there has been any advantage either way, it is in favor of private enterprise rather than public control.

These counts, then, seem to me to be fatal to the socialist's fair dream, so far as that dream is expected to be realized by a forcible reconstruction of our social order. And I believe that there only needs to be profounder thought applied to the subject, broader education, more intelligent discussion, to convince all sensible people that this is not the road to the ideal that we all dream of and would like to attain. I do believe that the socialist's ideal is the true one. I do believe that some day the world will attain it. But it will attain it when the individuals have been developed in wisdom and in righteousness, so that they will freely and voluntarily organize and co-operate to produce these results. A condition of society in which every man should

find his true work and receive his full share of the product is certainly the dream of the very kingdom of heaven, whether you call it socialism or by some other name.

What shall we do, then, with reference to this matter practically,—you and I?

In the first place, I believe here, in this country, we ought to stop talking about the distinctions between labor and capital, as though there were anything permanent about them. Every laborer has an opportunity—if he is healthy and has not overburdened himself with expenses, if he is industrious and honest and free from vices—to become a capitalist. And the capitalists are perpetually becoming laborers. Becoming laborers, do I say? It is difficult to express one's self as one would wish, owing to the misuse of language; but there is no essential distinction between "laboring men" and any other class of men. All men, except invalids and paupers and parasites, are workingmen in America; and any man that is not ought to be ashamed of it, and to be called upon to apologize. We are all laborers. We are all workingmen. We all may be capitalists, we all may be some day wage laborers. We all may be toilers with our hands. Let us abolish these factitious distinctions, then, and try to understand each other and have sympathy, so that we shall feel the wants and aspirations and wrongs and abuses each of all, and have a common consciousness and make common efforts to attain a common ideal. I believe that almost all these evils are curable on our present basis, under our present system of social organization; and we ought not to sit down contented under them nor be restively seditious on account of their existence. Let us all co-operate to bring to pass the truer condition of justice and right in human society.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

WHEN things do not go just right with us, or so superlatively right as we think they ought,—though perhaps we very rarely analyze the “ought” so as to find out whether there is any adequate basis beneath it,—one of the first things we are likely to do is to turn round and look for somebody on whom we can cast the blame. If we are not as rich as we would like to be, or as well situated in the world as we could desire, or as well educated, as well endowed naturally, as handsome,—if we have not as fine opportunities and advantages of every kind as somebody else,—there is apt to spring up an uneasy sense of somebody's being responsible for it besides ourselves; and we wish to find some one on whom we can throw the responsibility. A shallow social philosophy, largely borrowed, or imported from foreign lands, where there is a distinction that does not exist here between the State and the people, has led thousands of persons among us to erect a figment of the imagination, labelled society or the State, into an entity, and then to hold this so-called society or State responsible for the evils and wrongs under which they suffer, and for the withholding the things that they desire but have not yet attained. What I propose to do this morning is to analyze, as carefully and as simply as I can, this matter of personal and social responsibility, and find who, if anybody, ought to bear the blame for these things that we are accustomed to think of as wrong.

As being simpler and more easily apprehensible, let us begin by looking at individual or personal responsibility.

I help or hurt other people by what I am of good or ill. Now, who is responsible for what I am? Is my next door neighbor? Is there any organism called society that is responsible? Is the State responsible? Is the past history of the world responsible? Is the universe responsible? Where shall I locate this responsibility? To what court shall I appeal for redress, if I am not satisfied? That is the practical question for us. I am not responsible for a large part of what I am, certainly. I had nothing to do with deciding to come into this world, in the first place. I had nothing to do in deciding into what country I would be born or to what nationality my parents should belong,—whether they should be pagan or Christian, whether they should be poor or rich, good or bad, educated or ignorant. I had nothing to do with deciding as to whether I should be well trained in my boyhood, well brought up, and given a fair start in life. None of these things was I consulted about. So, certainly, I am not responsible for these things. Is society responsible? Is the State? What is the State? My neighbors, friends, fellow-citizens,—did they have anything to do with the matter? Most certainly not. Against none of the people now living can I bring any charge as concerning any of these things. And if I attempted to hold society in general, as it existed in the past, responsible, I have no appeal. There is no writ of *habeas corpus* by which I can bring past society into court, and make it respond. So charging the blame on them does not help matters any. And then, I overlook the fact that this past society was made of individuals who came into the world without asking to, and concerning each one of whom these questions that I have alluded to were settled without

their consultation or consent, precisely as they were in mine. I can hold my father and mother responsible, to some degree; but then, my father and mother were also products of a past that determined very largely what they, also, should be, so that their choice was within very narrow limits and concerned a very few alternatives.

Who, then, is responsible for what I am? Certainly not society—and this is the point that I wish to emphasize—as it exists to-day around me, this society of which I am a part. If there is any blame anywhere, ultimately I must charge it against the Primal Cause of all things. But there are two things to say concerning that. In the first place, I am not wise enough as yet to decide as to whether what this has done concerning me is not, in the main and in the long run, right and best for me. And, in the next place, though I were thoroughly convinced that I had been wronged by the universe, what is the use of my saying it? What recourse have I? Why need I waste my breath in saying that I ought to have been something that I am not? The word “ought” has no legitimate meaning, except as it implies that there is some responsible person *who ought*, against whom I can urge a charge and at whose hands I can demand redress. A use of ought in any other sense than that is a misuse of words. So then, so far as this is concerned, I certainly, if I am a socialist, cannot hold society—that is, the people who are living in the world to-day—responsible in this matter.

Let us pass to the next step. What I do springs out of what I am. Who, then, is responsible for what I do? Who is responsible for my actions, whether wise or unwise, whether good or bad, whether helpful or hurtful, as against other people? Concerning these, also, can we not say substantially the same,—society is not responsible? Some man

may have asked me, invited me, given me an opportunity, to do wrong; and, in that sense and in so far, he is responsible,—responsible for the temptation; not, however, for my action, unless I was forcibly compelled by him to do what was unwise or wrong. Society, then, made up of the individuals about us, the people with whom we live, do business, are on terms of friendship, cannot justly, it seems to me, be held responsible for our actions. But—and here is the important and practical thing which we wish to consider—we are standing here this morning, wise or unwise, conscious to some extent, at least, of what we are, of right or wrong, the result of all past experiences and influences, our own and that of others; and we are now from this time forth personally responsible for doing and being the best that we possibly can. I am under obligation, for example,—and the same is true of each member of society, whatever his position and opportunity,—for being the truest and noblest type of manhood of which I am capable.

In the first place, to begin clear at the bottom, and to make it very practical, I am responsible, and not society, for my personal support. I am under obligation to earn an honest living,—not to take out of the common fund, that has come down to us from the past, the least iota for which I do not render an equivalent. I am responsible for my own self-support. I must be independent, and maintain my own self-respect, my own manliness, intact. I may of course be unable to do this. I may have inherited disease, physical disability. I may have inherited a lack of capacity, that unfits me to enter into the world's great battle for the prizes that all men desire and all men seek. Then I may honorably look to others for their kindness, their charity, their help; but even then, it seems to me, I may not demand it as a right. I have not earned it. It is

theirs. They did not ask me to come and sit down at their table; and, even though I were thrust in without my own will, it was not at their invitation. I am under obligation, first, then, and before all things, to earn for myself, if I am capable of it, an honest living.

To say one word further concerning the matter I alluded to a Sunday or two ago, and which seems to me of immense importance as bearing on our social well-being, I am under the highest obligation of which I can conceive not to undertake to carry a burden through life that I cannot reasonably hope to be able to carry. In other words, I have no right to assume responsibility for the happiness of a wife and children, unless I feel reasonably sure that I can be true to that responsibility. Thousands and thousands of people in the modern world are burdened and struggling, unhappy themselves and making others unhappy also, because they have not become civilized enough in this one respect to exercise that foresight, that thought for the morrow, which differentiates the civilized man from the barbarian. No man has a right to ask others to look to him for guidance, for comfort, for bread, for help, for support,—for all that makes life blessed and cheerful,—unless he feels reasonably sure that he can fulfil the obligation which he voluntarily assumes.

I am under obligation, next, to train my mental capacity to the utmost degree possible. This life is a problem, the working out of which is an immensely difficult task. I am under obligation to train my mental faculties, so that I may deal with the practical problems of life as they arrive, every day, in some at least partially successful manner.

Again, I am under obligation to train my sense of right and wrong, to make myself morally as complete as possible, so that I shall not trench on the rights of any others, so that

I shall develop myself to the best, in order that the influence which I exert upon my fellow-men may be of a noble, elevating, uplifting kind. I shall then conduce to their happiness and general well-being.

I am under obligation to do what I can for my fellow-men ; and this is that kind of obligation that goes along with manhood, which is expressed in the words *noblesse oblige*,—nobility is obligation. I am under obligation to do what I can for those in need, those that are ignorant, those that are less fortunate, less successful than I am. But I am not to exercise indiscriminate charity and almsgiving ; for that is not true help. By as much as I am under obligation to help my fellow-man, I am also under obligation to help him in such a way as, while supplying his present need, not to injure, undermine, disintegrate, his manhood. If my help, as offered to others, tends to weaken self-respect, the desire to be independent ; if it tends to break down the manhood of others,—then, while I relieve a temporary physical want, I am working a mental and moral injury, that a good deal more than overbalances all the good that I may be accomplishing.

These points seem to me, then, to hint at some of the main principles of obligation as it touches the individual.

Let us pass now from this to consider the broader theme of social responsibility. It seems to me, as I study political economy, as I study politics, the actions of people in the mass, the principles that guide them, that the ideas to which they give utterance concerning these prove how very easily people can go astray and lose their way in passing from the individual to the social group. They can understand how a man can behave so as to get into debt and become poor ; but they do not seem able to understand that a nation can conduct its housekeeping in a wasteful way, and so become

poor, get into debt and suffer, have depression and hard times as a result. In other words, they do not seem to understand that the principles that apply to the individual apply also to the mass just as well, just as forcibly, just as inevitably.

Let us look, then, at this matter of social responsibility. Let us take our start in ancient Rome, in order that we may mark a very important distinction between the older types of society and that which we recognize to-day. Under the emperors of ancient Rome there was a grand division between the group of nobles, who substantially owned all the lands and held in their hands the great mass of the property of the time, and the rabble, the proletariat, the mass of people, who had no rights, no political power, no opportunities, but who simply looked to the government, represented by the emperor and the nobility, for food and amusement. The popular cry in those days was for bread and the circus; and the people, as a mass, looked to the nobility, the governing power and force, to give them bread and furnish entertainment. There was some reason in the people's holding the State responsible and demanding that it take care of them, in those days and under those conditions.

Let us come down to a modern illustration of it. Louis XIV., the most magnificent despot, I suppose, that France ever knew, when one day some one in his presence spoke of the State, replied: "The State! I am the State." And, substantially, it was true. At least there was a large enough element of truth in it to make it proper for him to use that phrase. And, while he was the State, while he controlled the landed system of France, holding it very largely in his own hands, having almost unlimited power over the lives and property of the people, he might be justly held responsible for public want, sorrow, and calam-

ities of every kind ; and the people had a right to appeal to him for redress, since he held the money and grasped the reins of power. To a certain extent, a like truth may be uttered concerning most of those countries of Europe where there is still a king and an aristocracy. Take it in England. A few titled families hold nearly all the land of the realm. They hold in their hand an enormously disproportionate part of the wealth of England. They have exclusive control of its honors, almost exclusive control of its power and social standing. A few people, comparatively, hold nearly all the prizes of life in their own hands and at their own disposal. Under these circumstances, the people have a right to look to them, and to hold them responsible for many of the evils under which they suffer, and demand that they should do something in the way of equalizing at least the opportunities.

When we come to this country, there is nothing in existence in America that is at all parallel to this condition of things. The State in America,—what is it? where is it? There is no public receptacle called the State that has any money of its own, not one single mill. All the money there is in the public treasury at Washington is your money and mine, taken directly or indirectly by taxation. It does not belong to the State. There is no State, in the ordinary sense of the word. You and I are the State, and all the State there is. And, when we talk about looking to the State for help, it is you and I as workers looking to you and me as voters for help. That is all there is to it, when you analyze it.

There is no public receptacle of wisdom. Where is the wisdom of America? There is only so much of the general wisdom that belongs to all the people as we elect, under the name of representative, senator, president, temporarily

to act for us. There is no public receptacle of power, no State that is able to do things for us. It is only we doing things for ourselves here in America, if we are at all true to the principles on which our government is based. All this talk, then, of the socialists and a certain class of labor reformers about the State, or society, being responsible for all sorts of things, and being able to do all sorts of things for everybody, seems to me to be utterly out of place.

Let us look at it and see. Suppose there is not work enough for everybody, that a large number of persons are out of employment: has the State any power to make work? If the State employs anybody to do anything, it must be one of two things,—something that needs to be done or something that does not need to be done. If it needs to be done, then there is no need of the State's creating any work. If it does not need to be done, then it is waste of public wealth to do it.

Let us take a little concrete illustration near home, and see what it comes to. Here is a farmer who employs twenty men. All necessary work is accomplished; and there is nothing more that needs to be done. If he goes on and makes work for these twenty men, setting them to building stone walls where there is no need of stone walls, digging trenches where there is no need of them, it is so much sheer waste of time and strength and money. It adds nothing to the wealth of the farmer or of the worker. It takes just so much away. So, if we, as a people, set individuals to work, and pay them for doing things that are not called for by the public welfare, there may be a great show of activity and a good deal of ready money in the market; but it is borrowed money that some time or other we must pay; and the activity and the appearance of prosperity are sheer delusion, because we are doing things that do not need to be

done ; and the outcome of it sooner or later must be a less amount of public wealth than existed at the beginning.

Let us take another illustration. I was talking only this last week with a thoroughly educated German gentleman. In his younger days, in Germany, he was a pupil, personal friend, and enthusiastic disciple of the great socialist leader, Lassalle ; and he is, to-day, quite a believer in some of his principles, although he told me that further reflection had taught him to reject a great many as theoretically unsound. This gentleman gave expression to one thought which seems to me very wide-spread, but is, I believe, a delusion. You are familiar with the common saying uttered by people who want, but generally are not quite willing to pay for what they want,—“The world owes me a living, and I am bound to have it.” It was this principle, substantially, that he gave utterance to, although he personally did not express any such purpose as this. But I should say boldly, in regard to any particular individual who comes into this world, that the world at the moment of his entering it owes him absolutely nothing at all. The world does not owe him a living. As he goes on through life, the world owes him, and it generally pays him, about what he earns. I should say, in regard to people who hold this principle and propose to act it out, very much what Dr. Johnson said to a man who was engaged in a business for which he had no great respect, and which he was reprimanding him for carrying on. “But,” said the man, “I must live.” Whereupon, the gruff old doctor uttered a very wholesome though perhaps not pleasant truth, when he said, “I do not at all see the necessity.”

Let us take an illustration, that you may see what I mean. Suppose there is a town containing one thousand inhabitants. These thousand people are finding it not over easy to

get on. They do not own any more money than they want. They have no finer houses than they desire. They have no better clothes, and no more of them, than they wish. They have no more of the comforts and necessities of life than they can use. There is not easy room for anybody else to get work or earn wages. Some day, the thousand and first person is born into this community. What claim has the new-comer on the one thousand? Has he any? This gentleman with whom I was talking, this pupil of Lassel, when I used this illustration in conversation, said, "But this child has come: does not society then owe him a living, an opportunity to acquire happiness and prosperity?" I said: Let us turn the matter round. Supposing I am one of these thousand people. The child came without asking to come; but he also came without my asking him to come. There were at least nine hundred and ninety-eight out of that thousand who did not ask him to come. Nobody but his father and mother asked him. But suppose there is a person in this community unable to support a family, who still wilfully and, as I believe, viciously becomes the father of one, two, three, five, or eight children, and then in effect pushes them over on my doorstep for me to take care of: am I under obligation to take care of them under those circumstances? I did not ask them to come. Suppose there was not bread enough, not work enough, not wealth enough, not advantages of any kind enough for everybody: are those people who were there in the first place, and who are working hard to get along, responsible for those people who lack? Is there this kind of corporate responsibility in society? I believe that just because we are men, just because we have the common feelings, sympathies, and attributes of men and women, we would not willingly let people suffer or starve or die in our presence. Yet, when this matter of

social responsibility is pushed so far as it commonly is, so that people feel at liberty to live as they please, and to become parents of as many children as they please,—under the idea that somebody will be responsible for their welfare and prosperity,—I believe that it is a vicious, unjust, and inhuman principle. There is no such responsibility anywhere.

Take it in regard to one more point. A man does a foolish thing because he is foolish. Another man does a wicked thing because he is wicked. He injures society. I indicate by these phrases the whole criminal class of the world,—those who are criminal through lack of wisdom or lack of will. Is society responsible for the existence of the criminal classes? I say no. You and I make up society. Are we willing to hold ourselves responsible for a man born with a criminal taint in his blood? We are not responsible. We are responsible simply for the protection of society as it exists to-day, and for doing what we can to help it outgrow these evil, criminal conditions; and there our social responsibility ends.

But there are certain things that we, as society, can do, and these, I believe, we ought to do; for you and I, as individual workers, are, in one sense, the governing power in this country. All the wisdom there is, all the money there is, all the power there is, is just yours and mine, intrusted for the time to men whom we have elected to carry out our wishes. We, then, are responsible, so far as we have it in our power to prevent it, to see that these men who represent us do not waste the public money. We are responsible, so far as lies in our power, to see that they make equal and just laws, that they establish equality of condition and opportunity for all men, just so far as these things are possible. We are responsible to see to it that these men do

not steal or misappropriate the public funds ; that they do not waste them in useless public works, in useless wars, or in any way that does not conduce to the general welfare.

It is claimed that there is a class of persons in the community to-day, under different names, who have, in unjust ways, become possessed of more power than belongs to them, of more than their share of wealth, more than their share of the refinements of education and of the good things of life. If there is any such class, or any number of individuals, that have thus grasped more than is theirs, then we have the right, in all just ways, to do what we can to readjust and rectify affairs.

I have no time this morning, nor is this the occasion, for entering into a vast subject like this in detail, indicating my opinion as to whether this is true, and, if it is true, what can be done about it. But this is the point I wish to emphasize, first, last, and all the way through, that, if there are any such inequalities, then they are by the permission of you and me. They are not the work of any supposititious State or government or society; for the State, government, society, in America, is nothing more nor less than you and I. If it is not the you and I that are alive to-day, then it is the you and I, our fathers, who were alive yesterday. All the power there is, all the wisdom there is, all the money there is in America, is in our own hands; and we should be very unwise as well as very unmanly, if we should hold society responsible or be willing to look to society for guidance and support. I have too much pride, if nothing else, to acknowledge a principle which places me in perpetual tutelage, that makes me look to a superior human power above me for wisdom, money, guidance, care, to give me a place, to find work and see that I get my wages. And I believe that there is in the American people too much of

this independent manliness to be willing to acknowledge a principle which would subordinate them in this way to a power which, if it exists at all, must be one of their own creation.

In this country, then, we must go back to you and me, if we are to find the source of many of the troubles under which we suffer. All men are not born equally rich. They are not born equally handsome, nor equally strong, nor with equal mental and moral characters. There are a thousand distinctions and discriminations in people, as they start in life. There is no power on earth that can institute a foot race, and insure that everybody shall come out ahead. There is no power in the universe that can organize a wrestling match, and insure beforehand that everybody shall be on top at the end. There is no power in existence that can establish human equality in any such sense as this. The utmost we can rationally hope for is that, starting weighted down by natural disabilities for which society is not responsible, our fellows about us shall give us as fair a chance as they can. This is all we have a right to demand of anybody. Beyond that, for these original disabilities, we must go back to the universe. But there is no writ of *habeas corpus* that is able to bring the universe into court, and compel it to respond to our demand. So far, then, as these things are concerned, what are we going to do about it? We must simply start as we are, in the conditions in which we are placed, and do the best we can.

WHAT IS AT PRESENT POSSIBLE?

ALL men and women naturally desire just as many of the good things of life as they can obtain. And I believe that this desire is not only natural, but legitimate and right in every way. We ought to desire as much money, as good houses, as good clothes, as well-spread tables, as many books, pictures, musical instruments, possessions and accomplishments of all kinds, as we can make legitimate use of; because all these things, if rightly used, are to us what soil and rain and sunshine are to growing plants and flowers,—food and conditions of development. Until the world has progressed far enough so that all men possess something more than enough to keep life in the body, you will readily see that even the first step toward civilization is impossible. These things that the world has accumulated over and above the things that are absolutely necessary to life are the materials by which we feed the higher hungers of humanity, and develop ourselves beyond and above the animal. They are, then, not only natural and legitimate, but necessary objects of human desire.

But there are certain conditions, certain limitations, to the possibility of acquirement in this direction, that we need to take account of most carefully, in order to abate the severity of our complaints against society. In other words, we need to find out what, in the present condition of the world, is

possible. If we have complaints to make against the universe, that is one thing. We can complain as much as we please ; but there is nothing we can do about it beyond complaining. The world being what it is, and men and women being what they are, wise and foolish, educated and ignorant, selfish and benevolent, with all their faulty characteristics and qualities,—these being the conditions, what, at the present stage of the world's civilization, is possible in the way of our accumulating these things that we desire ?

It is plain, at the outset, that it is quite impossible for everybody to be rich. Suppose, after the communist's plan, we should have an equal division of the entire accumulated wealth of America : have we any idea how rich we should all be ? By the most liberal estimate, an estimate that probably exceeds the reality, the most that we could hope to possess would be a thousand dollars apiece all round. That is a very large estimate. It is plain, then, that we cannot all be rich. But suppose we should have this equal division of all the property of America, so that we could start to-morrow morning, as we say, fair and even : how long do you think it would be possible for us to maintain this equality of property ? In my opinion, by Saturday night there would be just as marked, striking, startling inequalities as exist to-day ; for the simple reason that people themselves are different in all directions. Precisely the same characteristics and qualities that have produced the present distinctions and differences of wealth would exist after you had made your equal division ; and their working would produce precisely the same results.

Not only can we not all be rich, but we cannot establish equality among men in any direction, except the equality of right before the law, and, so far as possible, the equality of opportunity. Equality in any other sense is impossible.

I am aware that it is quite a popular American notion that we are all born free and equal. But a little careful thought will reveal the fact that this is, after all, what has been called "a glittering generality." Men are not born free. They are born bound and limited by a thousand conditions. They are not born equal. There are a thousand inequalities at the very outset of our careers. In the first place there is a most marked inequality of natural ability. Some men are born with immense brain power, and others with very feeble intellectual faculties. All the way from idiocy up to Shakspeare range the distinctions and differences of the brain quality and power of man. And this is not the fault of society at all so far as we can see. It is the fault of the constitution of things, if there is fault anywhere.

Then there are not only these differences of natural ability with which we start in life, but there is the difference which comes from the development of these faculties, the acquired training. I was trained as a boy in one of the old-fashioned, country district schools, not graded, but where all the children started free, each one for himself. No one was kept back by any one else. No one was obliged to continue in any particular class for one quarter or for half a term, but could pass as rapidly as he pleased from one class to another until, if he had the ability, he could lead the school. Of two boys beginning together in the same class, one would manifest his power to lead, leaving the other perhaps hopelessly behind in the very first week. Whose fault? Nobody's. The smarter boy certainly did not injure the other by going ahead: he would not have benefited him by remaining behind. And in the long run, and all the way through, we help on the social welfare of the world most completely by becoming the most possible

and doing the most possible. We do not help those who are laggards in the race by staying behind ourselves, but rather by acquiring all the power and ability we can, so that in our turn we can render the largest and most generous help to those who lack.

Again, we cannot have equality in the sense that all people shall be equally good. There are distinctions of character, born distinctions, inherited tendencies. However we may fight against them, we cannot make all men equally good, equally unselfish, equally virtuous. These distinctions are a part of human nature; and no legislation, no social reconstruction, can change them.

Neither, again, is it possible to equalize the income of people, the wages, or pay, that they shall receive. I wish to touch this subject, in order to prick what seems to me a fallacy; and, in doing so, I will refer to two or three schemes in this direction. For it is a part of all communistic and socialist theories of the time to do something by which the wages of people shall be equalized, or made more nearly equal than they are to-day.

That I may make myself perfectly clear, let us analyze the meaning of the word "value." Why is it that people will voluntarily pay one man more for his services than they will pay another? Why is it that people will pay a high price for one article, and will only pay a very low price for another? Why is it, for instance, that Patti can make an enormous fortune with her voice, and others, with what seem to us more useful faculties, can acquire only a limited income? Perhaps she has made more in six months than Mr. Emerson earned in his whole lifetime by all his books and lectures. There seems inequality in this. What does it mean? Is there any way by which we can help it? It seems to me not; for what is the meaning of the word "value"? What makes the value of anything?

Two factors enter into it, and, so far as I can see, two only. First, human desire; next, the question of scarcity or abundance. If there is only a small quantity of any particular thing, and everybody wants it, and wants it enough to be willing to pay just as much as they are able to pay to get it, why, of course, the price of it will be very high. If a thing is exceedingly valuable, and yet there is an unlimited quantity of it, it may be relatively cheap. If there is only a small quantity of any particular thing, and only a few people want it, of course that also will be cheap. Why is gold more valuable than iron? Because while every one wants gold it is also comparatively rare. If there is about an equal desire on the part of the world for gold and iron; if both enter into the daily use of almost everybody, — then there comes in that other factor, the scarcity of gold as related to the abundance of iron.

Now let us take this case of Patti as an illustration. She comes to Boston and sings. She earns in one night more than many of the wage-laborers of Boston can earn in two years. Does she injure any one by it? What does it mean? It means simply that almost everybody in Boston who is able to buy a ticket would like to hear her sing, and is willing to pay for it. It comes, then, from this multitude of contributions of the littles; because there is not, perhaps, any other voice in the world that has played so large a part, that has attracted so much attention, and won so much admiration as has hers. It is, then, the fact that so many people desire to hear it, and that it is so rare, that makes it so exceedingly valuable. If there were a million people who could sing as well as Patti, then we could hear Patti, or one who was just as good, sing at a very reasonable price. This, then, is what determines value.

Now let us look at some of the schemes that have been

proposed. Some tell us that we ought to pay people according to the time they spend in doing the work,—so much a day, so much an hour, according to the time they are occupied. But just look at the injustice of this. Here is a lawyer who has spent, perhaps, ten years in time and ten thousand dollars in money, in order to become able to give you a piece of advice which may not take more than fifteen minutes to render. Is he to be paid for fifteen minutes' work only? Will you make him on a level with the man who is doing something that it required neither time nor capital for him to learn to do? Certainly, that would be unjust. Others propose to pay according to the agreeableness or disagreeableness of the work in which people are engaged. They tell us that those who are doing the hardest and least agreeable work should receive the highest wages instead of the lowest. But what work is agreeable or disagreeable depends on the different tastes of people. Then again comes in this other element, the amount of time required to prepare to do certain things and the ease with which other things can be done by thousands and millions of others who have no training.

They tell us, again, that people should be paid on the basis of the usefulness of the work in which they are engaged,—that utility ought to be the standard. But who will establish this standard of utility? What is useful to society? As we read the lesson of history, we find that a thousand things that nobody at the time regarded as useful have proved themselves to be most useful of all. Then there are lower uses, ministries to the body, feeding its hunger, clothing its nakedness; higher ministries to the brain, the heart, the imagination, the soul. Where shall we get our standard of utility?

All these schemes, then, to establish equality in any one

direction seem to me to be purely chimerical, impossible of realization. And I am not at all sure that I would wish to have these schemes realized, even if it were possible. I do not believe that we should improve the beauty, the fertility, or the usefulness of this old world by turning it all into an Illinois prairie, filling up all the valleys, levelling down all the mountains. Out of the inequalities of the world, hill and plain and valley, come not only its beauty, its magnificence, but its fertility, its life-giving power as well. It is not by any means the loftiest mountains that are to be envied. It is cold up there; it is very lonely up there. Mountain tops are frequently lightning smitten, but from those high peaks run down the streams that sing through the valleys and make beautiful and fertile the world.

I do not believe that human society would be improved by making it all one unvaried monotony. I do believe that we should accomplish all that we can in attaining, at least, some degree of universal freedom, universal hope, so that all men and women should rejoice in the fact that they are alive, and feel that life is worth while. But if I could, with a wave of my hand, I would not establish over the world human equality in these regards of which I have spoken. It would mean human stagnation, human monotony, and death to all that is highest and best in all of us.

Now, then, let me pass to another principle. The welfare of each man in society hinges upon the general welfare of all. If there is a large amount of wealth in America, your chance and my chance of getting some of it are a good deal better than as though that amount were lessened in any degree. And that is true without reference to the hands that hold the title-deeds. The larger the amount of public wealth, certainly the better chance for all of us to get at least a small slice of it. Any course of conduct on the

part of capital or labor that tends to decrease production, to lessen the amount of public wealth, to make capital, or accumulated wealth, feel insecure, is not only an injury to capital itself, but to labor quite as much. It is an injury to me, even if I do not own a cent of that capital, because whatever tends to decrease the total amount of wealth decreases my opportunity to get at least a small share.

Let us note two or three courses of conduct on the part of both capital and labor that seem to me to tend in this direction, and that I believe ought to be regarded as reprehensible, ought to be fought against and put down, if possible. Labor needs capital, just as much as capital needs labor. Human progress cannot go on with either of them crippled, any more than a bird can fly with one wing. We create a purely artificial distinction when we divide capital from labor. A man utterly without capital, what would he do with himself? He could only gather wild berries or fruits, if he could find them, or dig with his naked fingers edible roots out of the soil, or, if he were swift and strong enough, pursue some wild creature, capture it, and use it for food. Beyond that, nothing. A man with his shovel or pickaxe on his shoulder is just so far a capitalist, just as much as though he owned a million dollars invested in the plant of some grand manufactory. Anything that a man has beyond his bare hands, any tool, weapon, instrument of any kind, is capital. It is the result of so much saved, that is made use of in order to accomplish further production. That is what capital means. Labor, then, needs capital just as much as capital needs labor; and it is very unfortunate when the two get into antagonism with each other.

Let us look at some of these antagonisms. First, lock-outs and strikes. Either a lock-out or a strike is an act of war.

It is not industry any more. The minute that either capital or labor resorts to these means, we have passed just so far from a state of industrial civilization into a condition of warfare again. There may be cases in which it is unavoidable. A capitalist may find himself in such a position that, in his judgment, the only thing he can do is to lock up his works. Labor may find itself in such a condition that, according to its best judgment, to strike is the best thing it can do. There are cases in which war is justifiable; but war always destroys capital, and leaves the world poorer, not only in lives destroyed, but in property used up. So a lock-out or a strike always leaves the world a little poorer. There may be compensating advantages; but I do not believe there is a case on record in the history of the world where the world was not the worse off, so far as the total amount of wealth was concerned. Until the disagreements between capital and labor can be settled by arbitration, it seems to me that we are hardly entitled to claim that we are civilized; for this is barbaric warfare instead of business.

Then there is another point; and the fault here may be either on the side of capital or of labor. If it is on the side of labor, we call it interference with freedom of contract. If it is on the part of capital, however it may look or whatever it may be called, it comes to substantially the same. What we are after in this modern world is perfect freedom of contract, perfect liberty of the individual. Now, when a capitalist or manufacturer discharges a workman, not because he is incompetent, but on account of his religious or his political opinions, the way he votes, on account of his opinion on the labor question, or for anything else that is irrelevant, that does not have any relation to his ability to fill his place, that man is interfering arbitrarily with

the rights of manhood. And when, on the other hand, laborers by combination compel the manufacturer to keep a man who is incompetent, whatever the reason may be, they are also interfering with the right of freedom of contract. They are putting a premium on incompetence. It is a wrong to every honest, earnest, capable man in the community. When laborers combine, and say to the manufacturer: Here is a man; I know that he is drunken, that he does not attend to his work, that he does not do it properly when he tries to attend to it, but you must keep him or we will strike, then, I say, they are committing an act which injures you and me. They are injuring every honest and capable man in the community, because, so far as their influence reaches, they are putting a premium on incompetence, and hindering in that way the development of man.

There is still another point. Perhaps we cannot wonder at it; and we must learn,—by *we* I mean those who are not engaged as organized laborers, in the popular sense of that word,—we must learn to be patient about it. One of the great evils of the time seems to me to be the leadership of labor. In a great many cases, labor puts forward as its representative leader, not a laboring man, not an honest man, not a man who really desires its welfare, but some fluent, capable demagogue, some man who has not its interest at heart or any one's interest except his own, some man who can earn a living easier with his tongue than with his hands, some man who knows how to turn things to his own advantage. But the principle that I have been trying to illustrate is this: that both capital and labor work a public injury when either of them takes any course that tends to make capital feel insecure or that tends to diminish the total product of society.

Who are the capitalists of this country? I leave out of

account the hereditary wealth, the hereditary dignities, the hereditary ownership of lands as they exist in other countries. But who are the capitalists in America? Almost all that I have been acquainted with were either poor boys themselves or their fathers were poor. They have come from the ranks of the common people: they have been laborers themselves. They have accumulated their capital by their industry, by their toil, by their own ability, by the use of faculties that were theirs either by personal acquisition or inheritance. Then, so far as I am acquainted with capitalists, most of those who go by that name are some of the hardest worked people in the community. They work a good many more than eight hours a day. They work quite as hard as their employés, and perhaps more hours in a year.

Then another thing which we ought to remember,—and, when I say we, I am going to put myself in the position of labor: a rich man, no matter how rich he may be, if he is going to use his wealth so as to make it pay a profitable income, must perforce use it in the public service. He cannot help himself. Mr. Vanderbilt—if I may be pardoned for mentioning his name again—may utter his verbal contempt of the public as much as he pleases; but, if he is going to earn a fair percentage on his property, he must use it for the public service. It earns nothing shut up in a vault, put away from public contact. It becomes a source of increasing wealth to him only as he uses it in the public service, and a source of more wealth by as much as he serves the public more and better. Under this system of competition, I see no way of escaping this. The man who serves the public best is the man who earns the most on his capital. Every time you buy a yard of cloth, a pound of sugar or tea, under this system of competition, you are casting a vote for the success of the man from

whom you buy; and, if he gets enough votes,—that is, if he serves successfully enough people,—then he does an enormous business, and accumulates a large amount of wealth. The measure of his wealth, if he is honest in the conduct of his business, is the measure of his public service. If I am a laborer, I cannot see what difference it makes to me, provided the money be properly used, whether \$10,000,000 are held in one hand or in forty hands. If used in the public service, it makes no difference to me who holds the title-deeds. This is another point that the complainant against our present social order very frequently forgets.

On the other hand, to pass from capital to labor, the underlying basis for a large part of the complaint against our existing social condition is flagrantly false. Mr. George's book, for example, *Progress and Poverty*, starts with an assumption which gives it its whole power over the reader, that the poor are growing poorer, while the rich are growing richer. This is a common saying, floating in the air, copied by newspapers, uttered by the mouths of people speaking on these questions. The truth, both in England and in this country, is precisely opposite to this. Statistics prove beyond question that the percentage of profit to capital has decreased during the last fifty years, and is decreasing; while labor is getting a larger percentage of the total product. Take England, for example. Wages are higher than fifty years ago, while the cost of all the necessities of life, with the exception of house rent, is less; and house rent is more than it used to be, because the house is unspeakably better. So that, any way you look at it, in England or America, though things are very far from what we would like to have them, the prospect of labor is all the time lifting and brightening, and this under our present system.

When you come to consider the present depression, the troubles, the upheavals, the lack of work, this which we call the financial disturbance, the lack of public and of general prosperity,—who is to blame for it? Capitalists no more than laborers, I think. Capital is at its wits' end in the matter. Many is the capitalist who is running his works at almost no profit, or even at a loss, for the sake of keeping his laborers employed. They are not conscious of having caused this financial depression; and I know of no one who would not rejoice to have any one who is wise enough tell him what that cause is, and enable him to remove it. We are all in the same boat. We are all trying to find some way out of the difficulty; and the one thing that we need, above all others, is to understand and keep in sympathy with each other.

If I had time or if I considered it wise, I should like to devote a whole discourse to what I regard as our financial trouble and the cure. I find that because I have passed it over lightly in a few sentences, instead of going into detailed discussions, in my previous sermons, I have been misunderstood in regard to one point. One gentleman friend misunderstood me completely as to the question whether we, as voters, in our capacity as society, could do anything to better the general condition of things. I believe that we can do a great deal. I believe that there are laws which bear unfairly, unequally, on the rich and on the poor, which we can adjust. I believe that there has been a waste of public money, that we can stop. I believe that there has been misappropriation of public lands, to which we can put an end. I believe there has been unjust and unequal taxation, for which we can find a cure. We can do a great deal by means of our legislatures and representatives at Washington. How? By equalizing, so far as

possible, the conditions and opportunities of all men. We cannot make a man any wiser than he is by direct legislation. We cannot make him rich by legislation, or a better man; but we can take the rich and the poor, the wise and the ignorant, the good and the bad, and we can give them all, so far as legislation is able, an equal opportunity. And that we ought carefully and earnestly to seek to accomplish.

And now, at the end, I wish to hint, since I have time for nothing more, at something in another direction.

I said, at the outset, that we all desire the best things, and that it was right that we should. But if I get money in some wrong way, or get it at the expense of my manhood, at the expense of my self-respect, at the expense of endangering some other person, however much money I may grasp in my hand, I do not get the best things of life: I am getting the worst things. We need to learn the true place of money in human life; and I believe, if all of us could learn that lesson and profit by it, we should do more to solve the labor problem than all legislation and social reconstruction put together. What do I mean? We need to learn that money, rightly and intelligently used, is only a means to manhood and womanhood,—money the servant, not the end, not a goal to be reached; and that the man who grasps great wealth, and forgets to develop himself, to serve his fellow-men, is poor when he grasps it; and that the man who uses his money for that which will minister to his own higher life, to brain and heart and soul, and to the welfare of his fellow-men, though he die without the necessity of making a will, because he has nothing to give away, is rich, richer than the pauperized millionaire, who, though a millionaire, is without either brain or heart. And we who have something more than the mere means of supplying our physical hunger; we who are developed some-

what more in general culture and intelligence than the great mass of the world,—we should be the ones to set the example. Suppose a man who is making his money, grasping it in any way he can, caring for it only as it ministers to his sensual gratification, shows that the principal thing he cares for is the street he lives on, the house he lives in, his carriages, his equipages, social display, the satisfaction of his physical hungers and desires : is there any wonder that poor people, or those that can earn only a dollar and a half a day, should catch the infection, should learn his lesson, and, seeing that this is the one great object of human desire, should seek by hook or by crook to enter into the mystic circle of those who, as they think, are getting all the good things of human life?

Is it any wonder if, when those who arrogate to themselves the intelligence, the culture, the social position and wealth of the world show that they care most of all for these things, the masses of the poor should struggle for the same kind of success? And do not wonder if you do not find them more scrupulous and self-denying than you are willing to be yourselves. Teach them the lesson that you know, whether you practise it or not, that there is something better in this world than money. Possibly, then, the poor, the laborer, the struggling man, will catch a glimpse of that something better, and find that, even with his small means, it is possible for him, in spite of his plain living, to attain to high thinking and noble feeling.

Let us learn that success in this life means culture of the heart and brain, the perception of the world's beauty, of its good, of the high and fine things of life. Let us learn that we can enter upon this heritage without any great accumulated fortune or wealth. Let us aim at it ourselves, let us show that we think it is worth while; and others will learn

the lesson, and follow our example. I believe in this way we can do more to settle the labor question than by national legislation or social reconstruction of any kind. Indeed, were we actuated by this spirit, legislation would then be shaped by it ; and all that is possible in our present circumstances would be naturally and easily done.

COMMON SCHOOL EDUCATION

If there lies in any mind even a shadow of a question as to whether this is a religious theme, and so one appropriate to Sunday morning and the church, I would like to hint just one word concerning the theory and scope of the religious life, as I understand it.

Education certainly means fitness to live, fitness to deal with the forces that encompass us on every hand, to deal with them rightly and successfully, so as to work out welfare and happiness. These forces, whether encompassing us on the outside, or whether they be those that constitute our own native faculties and powers, are just so far manifestations of the presence and the life of the Infinite One. Dealing with these, then, is dealing first-hand with God. And if this be not religious,—if religion be a thing of ceremony, of sentiment, of belief merely, not grasping, not including these great central things,—then, in my opinion, there is something larger, something more important than religion. To my mind, this is essentially vital, practical religion, in the deepest and truest sense of the word; and, from that point, I propose to discuss it to-day.

Every child is born into the midst of a world of which he knows nothing. He is born with faculties undeveloped and untrained. The problem of his life is to deal with this great complexity of movements and forces that constitute

the universe, so far as he comes in contact with it. That makes up the practical side of human life. If he knows something of the forces with which he is called to deal, if he understands the conditions and laws that control them, if he himself is so developed that he can control them, then life becomes a joy and a success. Otherwise, it is disaster and failure. The work of education, then, is to give one this mastery of himself and of his surroundings. It is true education just in so far as it succeeds in conferring that mastery. It is false or partial just in so far as it fails.

Education, then, as you will see, is twofold. It consists in knowing the things, the facts, the forces, the laws of the universe, and in the development, the culture, the training, of the faculties into a fitness to deal with and master them. The man, then, who knows things may or may not be educated. He who is finely developed, trained, may or may not be educated. A true education depends upon one's knowing those vast forces, principles, with which the person is surrounded and must practically deal. This is the first and most important thing about it. If life were long enough, it would be very pleasant for one to know everything, to have every one of the latent faculties and powers of one's nature developed and cultivated, trained to the utmost. But it is a commonplace that life is brief; and we, the most of us, begin very early to deal in some sort of fashion with the practical problems that surround us. Therefore, the first step of a successful education should be covered by a knowledge, so far as it can be attained, of the circumstances of the person to be trained. It should be directed toward fitting him to solve his own problems, not the problems of some other man; to deal with his own circumstances, not the circumstances of another differently situated; to work out his own life problem to a successful issue.

Education, it seems to me, has been too much narrowed in its definition in the past. It depends entirely upon who the person is, upon where he is, upon the questions he is called upon to solve, upon the difficulties he must meet, upon the forces he must master; and he who is properly learned and trained for that position to which, in popular language, "Providence has called him," he is educated, no matter whether he has passed through a particular school or not, no matter how much there may be that he does not know. While the person who is unfit to comprehend and master the problems of his life, where he is, so far as practical success in this world is concerned, is uneducated, no matter how many things he may know. A person may be familiar with ancient history, may have ever so many languages, living and dead, at his fingers' end, may understand something about the origin and progress of human civilization, may have learned the principles of political economy, may have studied the rise and development of political liberty, and yet, if he should be lost in a forest, or if he should be overtaken in some storm at sea and the management of the vessel devolved suddenly upon him, all his education might be to no purpose; and he might stand utterly ignorant in the presence of the things that he needed most to know. These faculties and powers, the right training of which would make him master of life and death, may be utterly untrained; and so he may stand helpless before a problem on the solution of which his very life and property may hang.

We need then, it seems to me, to broaden our conception of education. The hand may be educated as well as the brain. The heart, the conscience, the moral and spiritual nature, may be educated as well as the logical faculty, the intellect; for each of these different faculties and

departments of human nature has its own world to live in and its own forces and facts to deal with.

And they all need to be trained just as much as the brain needs to be trained, if it is to deal with a question of language or logic. Education, then, is just this broad, all-inclusive thing, requiring a knowledge of all things with which we may be called to deal and covering all development and the training of all faculties that we may ever be called upon to use. This, of course, is education in its broadest sense. I suppose no man was ever completely educated. A perfect education would mean a knowledge of everything and the development to the utmost of every human faculty. Life is not long enough for that, even if we were adequate to it; but we need to broaden our conception of education, so that we shall regard any man as educated, in the true sense of that word, and in the sense most important, who understands the conditions of his life success and is trained into a mastery of those conditions.

Let us, then, with these principles in mind, come to a consideration of public common school education. This is something new in the history of the world. Never until within these recent days has the idea of educating all the children at the public expense entered the human mind. We have undertaken nothing less than that here in America. It is not strange, under the influences of the traditions of the past, if, in our methods of doing this, we overestimate the intellectual side of education, as the word "intellect" is ordinarily defined. We have inherited from the past certain traditions of what is to be called a liberal education. It has meant, for the last five hundred years, almost exclusively a knowledge of the classics, of mathematics, of *belles lettres*, or literature. A person who knew these has been spoken of as liberally educated, however little he might know in any

other direction, however little of self-mastery he might have gained, however personally helpless he might stand before many of the most ordinary problems of life. Some of the truest and most masterful men of the world,—those who have comprehended the tasks set before them, and who have been able to control all the forces on which the successful doing of those tasks has depended,—we have been accustomed to look down upon as uneducated. We speak of them as self-made men, and wonderful men, perhaps, in their way; as successful men,—as having wrought out noble results in business, in society, in the culture of their own character. But they have not been educated, we say. Right opposite them may stand a man who is utterly helpless in the presence of any great social, political, or business problem of the world, and who is utterly undeveloped in the matter of character and self-control; and we elevate him on a little higher pedestal than the first man, because, we say, he is educated.

We have undertaken, then, in this country, to educate all the children at the public expense. We talk about it as a free public system. Now, I wish to note one or two things that underlie it, and see if they do not throw some light on what ought to be our practical methods and aims.

In the first place, our system of education is anything but free,—free in one sense, but not free in another. It is an enormously expensive system. Every one, whether he has any children or not, is taxed, but, as I believe, properly taxed, to contribute to this work of popular education; for, as we shall see in a moment, the only legitimate end of common school education is to achieve such results as shall contribute to the common weal. Therefore, any man, though he be a bachelor and have no children to educate, since his welfare is bound up with the welfare of the general public,

has as much interest in the education of the children of others as he whose family is ever so numerous. This, then, is a costly system, paid for out of the public purse. We have come to regard it as a principle in all our legislation that there shall be nothing which is private or personal connected with it,—public affairs for the public good, expenditure of public money only for those things that conduce to the general welfare of the public. I believe, then, we have no right to use the public school fund of America to educate or train children in any departments of knowledge or in any directions that do not concern and that may not be expected to conduce ultimately to the general welfare. This must be the principle underlying any proper common school education. I have no right, it seems to me, to tax you for the sake of paying for the training or culture of my child in those directions which are purely for my and his personal benefit. Why, for example, should I take money out of the public treasury to train my child for the successful prosecution of the law? That is a purely personal thing,—the means by which he expects to make his livelihood. If I am justified in taking money from the public purse to train him to a profession, why am I not quite as well justified in taking such money to train him to be a carpenter, and to furnish him with tools for the trade, or to give him an outfit in any other direction? Public money for public ends. We believe that, in a republic where every boy is a citizen, and has a vote, and is so part of the governing power of the land, every child ought to be educated, because only thus is a republic supposed to be secure. But we need to train these children in just those directions that shall make them good, intelligent, true, successful citizens,—that, and nothing more.

Now, does our common school education have this for its

chief aim? It seems to me not. I wish to make one or two suggestions in this direction. Our common graded school system to-day starts with the idea that every boy, who begins in the lowest class in the primary department, if he follows the system clear through, will ultimately land at Harvard. It is a pathway that leads up through all the grades, and is completed only there. Now, I believe it would be well, thoroughly, grandly well, if all the children could follow that pathway from the beginning to the end. But what are the facts? How many have taken the trouble to look into this matter, to see the proportion of children that go even a little way along this path? As a matter of fact, hardly more than half of the school children of Boston go through the primary school and enter the grammar school. Only a little more than half get as far as the grammar school; and only a very small percentage of all this number of children—less than five per cent. of the whole number—ever graduate from the grammar school and enter the high. It is easy enough, of course, to say that the schools are all open, that here is a free opportunity for every boy to gain a liberal education. As a matter of fact, however, this is really a misuse of language. You may have your road ever so open and unobstructed; but, if you attach a chain and ball to a man's ankles, you can hardly say that he is free to run a race along that road as far as he pleases. Most of the children are unable to go beyond a certain way, unable to reach beyond a certain degree. They must be taken or are taken out to support themselves or to help support their families, so that a very small per cent. ever get in sight of the high school. Here is a criticism I have to make on the present method. The system is arranged on the understanding that they are to begin at the beginning and go through; yet the majority

only get the very first beginning of the very large number of things taught, and a rounded, complete knowledge of almost nothing. A large number of these things that they spend their time on at present do not necessarily touch any question of the public welfare. They are private, personal things, that it would be very fine for everybody to know, if everybody had time and strength to know everything. But it seems to me that a common school system, paid for out of the common purse, having for its end the development and training of the children into such a condition that they shall in after life contribute to the general welfare, ought to devote itself, primarily at least, to the teaching of those things and the training of those faculties on the knowledge and the training of which depends their ability to be good, successful men of the world, citizens of our free republic. If we cannot do everything in the public schools, if we cannot teach everything, if we cannot train all the faculties, the emphasis, at least, ought to be laid on those things which are of prime importance for the personal welfare and success of the child, and for the public welfare as well. These needs, it seems to me, are not reached under our present school system so well as they might be by a modification of it.

I propose now to indicate two or three things that every child ought to be taught, and that it ought to be the object of a common school education to make every child master of. First, let us begin by facing the simple fact that the great majority of boys and girls must live commonplace lives, in a common business, in common homes, by common hand labor. These are commonplace things, because they are the most important things. These are the foundations on which everything else rests. They are commonplace, not in any sense that justifies us in looking down

upon them, but commonplace, just as the common soil, common air, common rain, common grass, common trees, are commonplace. They are the constituent elements of all our successful living. Most men must work with their hands. Most boys entering our schools must grow up with the idea that they are to work with their hands. It seems to me, then, that industrial education, industrial training, training of the hands with the idea that it is a part of education, and to be dignified by that name, ought to be one of the very first things in our common schools. I am glad there is a waking up, at least, or questioning concerning this subject; that it is being tested here and there, and that many of our best educators are already in favor of it. But I want to emphasize one other point connected with this, to let you see how very important it is in the right development of the dignity of our modern human life. Just so long as a man knowing a little French or a little German, or having a smattering of the higher mathematics, or knowing something about literature, is regarded as educated, and this hand training, this industrial training for the necessary work of the world, is not dignified by that term, just so long you may expect unrest and dissatisfaction, envy even, on the part of the great masses of the world. It is a purely factitious, unjust distinction that is thus created. The man who needs hand education in order to carry on the work in which he is engaged, to become a skilled laborer and master in his department, has a right to consider that this is education; and public sentiment ought to be trained until it regards it as education. It ought to be spoken of and looked upon as education everywhere. If there is to be any distinction at all, I would place it even higher than that merely perfunctory knowledge of a lot of things that are taken out of books, and which only minister

to pride and perhaps flippancy, and are not of practical value in settling the great problems of this world. We need, then, to introduce industrial education into our common schools, and to let it be understood that the man or boy who follows a course of industrial training is being educated just as much as is the boy who studies Latin and mathematics, and that he may be being educated for a good deal more useful career. I would include here in this point the idea that the first thing in all proper education is to train one into fitness to stand on his own feet and walk through this world earning his own living in a manly, independent way, without being pauper or thief in his attitude toward the general accumulations of society.

So, too, in regard to girls. The welfare of large numbers of girls, as they grow up in life, depends a deal more upon their ability to sew and to sew well, to manage a house and to do it well, to cook and to do it well, to do these practical things in life, and do them well,—their welfare, happiness, and success in life, I say, depend more upon these things than they do upon a little smattering of music or of some foreign tongue, upon some of those things which are lovely and well, if there are only time and strength for them. But they are not of the first importance; and our girls ought to understand, and the tone of the school ought to be such that every other girl should understand, that she who is learning these things is being educated in the noblest sense of that word. There ought to be this change of moral sentiment concerning the feeling which we shall have toward those people who are being trained into fitness for honest, successful, happy living.

The second point that I would make is that one thing which is only treated incidentally now, perhaps in a good many cases is not treated at all, ought to be brought to the

front and made one of the things of chiefest importance. I refer to moral education. I suppose it would be proper to say that, except for the general influence of the teachers over the schools, the general intercourse of the scholars among themselves, there is almost no moral education in our schools to-day. There is an attempt to reach it indirectly through a certain kind of religious education. But the religious education as it is carried on in our schools I cannot for a moment approve or believe in. It is one of the great problems of our common school to-day. It is being discussed in newspapers and reviews. This matter of moral education is a great question. We ought by this time to be getting over the idea that mere head training has any necessary bearing on character or behavior. A little study of human society would teach us the fallacy of this idea. A knowledge of geometry does not necessarily make a man patient and kind or truthful and honest. There is no necessary connection between that study and these virtues. To elaborate a careful knowledge of geography may only teach a man to what country he can safely go when he has broken a bank. It does not necessarily have anything to do with the question whether he shall or shall not break the bank. A knowledge of some foreign tongue may only enable a person to read a class of literature that he would be better to be ignorant of. So head knowledge in any direction, while of first-class importance in its way, does not necessarily have anything to do with character or goodness. And yet we know—for the history of the world has been one age-long object lesson in this direction—that the welfare, the happiness of people, the durability of nations, human progress, turn more upon moral qualities and characteristics than upon almost anything else; at least, that nothing else is any guarantee of the world's successful progress, if this moral

education is wanting. I do not believe that we can reach this moral education by the indirect way of coupling it with religious teaching in the schools. There is more or less of Bible reading in the schools; and we know the effect it has had on our Catholic fellow-citizens, causing them to establish parochial schools all over the land. And I most thoroughly sympathize with them in this regard. I do not believe that we have any right to compel the child of any man to listen to or to take part in any religious teaching that the parent does not believe in. It is not one of the rights of the majority in a free country. It is not anything which touches the public welfare. It makes no difference so far as the welfare of this country is concerned what a man's religious belief is, what theory he may hold concerning God and the future life. The history of the world, if it teaches anything, teaches that infidelity and atheism, the extreme of irreligion, have never been disturbing elements in society or government. Superstition, religious fanaticism, earnest, terrible belief,—these are the forces that have overturned governments and shed more blood than almost any others. It is not any of the State's business to interfere with my religion or with your religion. It is the State's business to concern itself with those things on which public welfare depends in this world. The State has no right to set itself up as a life insurance organization concerning eternity. It is none of the business of the government whether my soul goes to one place in the next world or another. The State should concern itself as to how I behave myself as a citizen of this world; and there its jurisdiction ends. It is not the business of the State to teach religion in the slightest degree.

President Eliot, in an address which he gave at the Unitarian Club on this subject, made two points. He

advocated and thought it was practical to have the different religions taught in the public schools; that there should be Catholic teachers, whose business it should be for an hour, a half hour, or a certain time, to teach the children of the Catholics; that there should be Orthodox teachers who should teach the children of Orthodox parents, Unitarian teachers to teach the children of Unitarians. But it seems to me that this is simply chimerical and utterly impracticable, because there are many shades and variations of belief. Here is an infidel, one who does not believe in any religion: will you have an infidel to teach his children? Here is a Jew: will you have a Rabbi to teach the Jew's children? Here are Mohammedans, Turks, Chinese: will you have just as many religious teachers as there are different children? I could not come into any such arrangement as this. There are some Unitarian teachers to whom I might have as grave objections as to a Catholic or Orthodox teacher. I should resist and resent the claim that my child is to be taught in the public schools certain religious ideas which I believe to be outgrown and injurious. This method would resolve itself into as many different teachers as there were families represented. So it would be utterly impracticable. President Eliot gave as a reason for trying to have some such fair, equable arrangement as this that we have no science of ethics, none that can be taught in the schools apart from religion. I feel as though I ought to assume a very modest attitude in differing from so wise a man; but, for the life of me, I cannot see the ground of such a statement. The principles of right and wrong have been wrought out and elaborated as results of human experience, and are as easily discernible and as teachable as are the principles of mathematics, the principles of political economy, the principles of social progress, or any other principles whatsoever.

The principles of ethics do not depend upon any one religion under heaven. And, so far from their being dependent on religious teaching, I should hold that there are a great many of the prominent teachings of the predominant religions, which are decidedly anti-ethical. One grand objection to teaching some of the religions would be that I regard the fundamental principles in many directions as practically immoral. Morality has been wrought out as the result of experiments of human beings in trying to find out how to live; and it is just as natural as are the principles that guide us in matters of hygiene or the proper treatment of the body. Moral principles are those on which the health of society depends. I believe it would be an easy thing to find competent men to draw up an ethical text-book for our schools, without any regard to any particular religion. Then let the parents, at home and in their churches, teach their children such religious principles as they will. It is not the State's business to teach religion; and the State has no business to interfere with the private teaching of religion on the part of the parent.

Then there is one thing more on which I would have stress laid in the public schools. I would have such an education of the intelligence as shall enable each child to deal with the first great practical questions of success in life. Most boys must enter into some practical work of mechanics or business. I would have the fundamental principles of reading, writing, arithmetic, taught, and taught completely, so far as any practical need is concerned; and I would have them taught in a practical way,—in such a way as they are used in the business world,—so that, when the boy leaves the school to go into business, he is equipped and fitted the first day, and is not under the necessity of going through a long tutelage, as he must to-day, about the sim-

plest things. A large part of the teaching is so technical, so dependent on text-books and according to rules, that, if you give a child a problem of the very same nature that he may have been engaged on during the whole term, and take away his book, he is utterly helpless.

Then I would have children taught the principles of the growth of political liberty, so that they would understand the meaning and the worth of freedom. I would have them taught the fundamental principles of political economy, the science of wealth, the laws controlling business, so that they would understand the meaning of these tremendous forces with which they have to deal every day, and concerning which most men, even men who claim to be educated, are as ignorant as a child. In other words, I would have each child trained and taught concerning those things that would fit him to be a practical business man and an intelligent wielder of the ballot. That is the principal thing.

To-day we are in the midst of social disturbance and upheaval,—signs of alarm in the business and social world in every direction. A large part of this upheaval and alarm springs out of the grossest ignorance of a few simple first principles on the part of those who are engaged in this disturbance. The enormously stupendous folly that has swept over this land during the last few years, concerning the place and value of money, is amazing. Simple as A B C, it has yet befogged the minds of men, until it has become the means of political overthrow in whole States,—the idea that value might be created by act of Congress, for example. Congress might just as well legislate Mount Washington into the middle of the Common. It is simply a stupendous absurdity. Children ought to be educated, so that, when they grow up and cast a vote on great political issues, they should not be so silly as these men have been.

Then a large part of the disturbance and trouble coming to us grows out of a gross ignorance of the possibilities of wealth, the amount of wealth that exists in the country, and what can be done with it. Many of the attempts being made would be made only by children,—though children, maybe, forty years old, for that matter; they are as unreasonable as would be expecting to get a gallon out of a pint. Many of these errors would be avoided, if children were properly educated concerning those things on which the fundamental welfare of society depends. These only as illustrations of what I mean.

A common school, paid for out of the common purse, having for its end the common good, ought to train the great majority of the children into a knowledge of those simple first principles that may enable them to lead honest, successful lives, and to be fairly intelligent, honorable citizens. If, when all this is done, there is time enough for a part of the children to go on a great deal farther, and if the public choose to support, out of the public funds, the schools and opportunities for them to go farther, well and good. But the point I make is this: that we have no right to sacrifice the true, proper, primal, fundamental education of the great majority, those who never can go beyond a certain point, in favor of a system the outcome of which is only a partial benefit to the few. Our common school system, in other words, is top-heavy, aristocratic, sacrificing the majority for the minority. It ought to be democratic. It ought to be a pyramid, broadest at the base. Run it up to an apex, if you please, but do not have the apex at the bottom.

These, then, are the criticisms I have to make on our common school system. I have no word of fault to find with those who have devoted themselves so nobly, faithfully,

earnestly, to make the most and the best of the system as it now stands. I only say that I believe the world as it grows older ought to grow wiser, and that we ought to attempt that which is practicable and that which is of chief necessity, first laying the emphasis here, then doing as much more and beyond that as possible.

POVERTY, PERSONAL AND NATIONAL

IN using this word "poverty," I do not mean to include the great mass of people who would not be regarded as rich. There are only a few persons in the world, comparatively, who are people of wealth in the ordinary acceptance of that term. We divide the community loosely into two classes,—the rich and the poor; yet the great mass of society is neither the one nor the other. As there are only a few people who are rich, so, in the sense in which I wish to use that word, there are only a few people who are poor.

By poverty, I do not mean the condition of those who are compelled to work for a living, and who succeed in getting the living for which they work,—those who, while missing the luxuries, really have enough to feed the body, enough to feed the mind, enough to feed the moral nature, enough to stimulate the spiritual ideal and furnish ground for hope. I have little sympathy to waste upon those; for it is a serious question whether the extremes of wealth are not as unfortunate as the extremes of poverty, only in another way. This subject I cannot, however, enter upon this morning.

You have doubtless seen, within the last few months, a picture of the little house in which General Grant was born,—a little cabin, we should call it, of one or two rooms, the chimney on the outside, without any trace of luxury; at first sight, without even any appearance of comfort. But

yet I do not regard the childhood of General Grant as poor, in the sense in which I wish to use the word to-day. There is all the difference in the world between the attitude in which people stand. Two men may be side by side, one of them possess no more than the other of the goods of this world; and yet one of them I would class among the poor, and the other I would not. General Grant's family, like so many others of the early pioneers of the country, simply started with little, but surrounded by the raw materials of future greatness,—with vigor in their bodies, clear brains in their heads, and high hope in their hearts, with the ability and opportunity to carve out for themselves noble futures. The other man that I have in mind, who possesses perhaps quite as much, lives in some city slum. He represents not the seed out of which something is to grow. He represents rather the decay of something which was once living, but which has in it the power of growth no longer. So there is abjectness and want, not only of body, but poverty of mind, poverty of hope, poverty of ideals, poverty of inspiration of every kind. It is this poverty, this want which stunts the whole nature, that I have in mind when I discuss the question this morning.

Let us note, that we may comprehend the situation a little more clearly, some of the evils of this condition of the really poor. Our imaginations and our hearts are easily touched by a picture of physical want. The physical evil, then, is the first one I note. I need not dwell on it. Take a picture like that which Hood has drawn in his famous "Song of the Shirt," of which I will quote two stanzas:—

" With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread.

Stitch ! stitch ! stitch !
In poverty, hunger, and dirt ;
And still, with a voice of dolorous pitch,
She sang the ' Song of the Shirt ! '

“ ‘ Work ! work ! work !
My labor never flags ;
And what are its wages ? A bed of straw,
A crust of bread, and rags ;
That shattered roof, and this naked floor,
A table, a broken chair,
And a wall so blank my shadow I thank
For sometimes falling there. ’ ”

A picture like this appeals easily, I think, to both the imagination and heart ; and any one who is human rushes eagerly to the assistance of any case like this with which he may become acquainted. The picture of the garret through which the snow sifts in winter, the few coals and stray sticks out of which an attempt is made to make a fire, the children pinched and wan, old before their time,—such pictures, with which the literature of the world is full, are easily drawn, easily understood ; and this physical suffering is one of the great evils of poverty.

But there is an evil greater and more pitiable to my mind than this ; and that is the mental stunting, the mental deprivation, the mental want that goes along with poverty. An animal can suffer nearly as much, perhaps, physically as a man ; but, when we see a man not only in animal pain, but suffering those higher wants which take away from the fact and the quality of his manhood, then, if we really appreciate what it means to be man, our hearts are touched with a deeper, sadder pity. The great mass of the poor are intellectually stunted. They can pass a bookstore, and are not able to buy ; but, if they were able to buy, though you

should flood their rooms with the literature of the times, there is no intellectual development. There has been no opportunity for intellectual culture and training, for the kindling of a taste for these things. Such people are like those who have floods of sunshine about them, and yet are not able to see, or who have floods of music, and yet are not able to hear. This deprivation, then, is a want, a loss, such as we, who care for and appreciate these things, can understand. To us, it would be a loss so serious that, I take it, we would be willing to suffer many a physical pain, many a nervous thrill and pang of agony, before we would endure the want of these higher things in which we find so large a part of the enjoyment of our lives.

But it is not simply this. This stunting of the intellectual power of the poor is that which, more than almost anything else, condemns them to perpetual poverty. The intellect is the light, the torch, the guidance by which people find their way, by which they solve their problems, by which they discover the methods of conducting business, of overcoming the difficulties that face them in life. And, if these be quenched, then what? They are then in the midst of a horror like that which once came over me as I was wandering through the Mammoth Cave, in Kentucky, and thought what it would mean if the torches of all our party should go out when we were miles from the opening that led us to the upper air. They would be like one on shipboard, lost in a fog at sea, when the compass ceases to be of service. They would be like one in the wilderness who cannot find the way.

But there is an evil connected with this condition of poverty more serious even than this, and that is the moral evil. Most of the criminals of the world, in the ordinary sense of that word, are, I suppose, poor people. Not that it is necessarily criminal to be poor, but it is out of these

conditions that are developed the criminal impulses, the criminal tendencies, the criminal despair; for most crime, if you trace it, you would find, springs out of hopelessness. It is the hopelessness which comes to people who find they are not able to compete with their fellows in the ordinary avocations of life. Consider what a temptation is hinted in two little lines from Lowell, which he read as one of the selections which he gave us at the Old South the other evening,—

“A motherless girl whose fingers thin
Push from her faintly want and sin.”

Think of the temptation, the alluring pictures of comfort and ease, that come to those in abject want,—temptations to purchase some of the ease and peace which are the general possessions!

It has been—alas! I think too popularly—the ideal with the churches to look upon poverty as a permanent thing, to take too literally the words of Jesus, “The poor ye have always with you.” It was even argued by one of the leading ecclesiastics of Boston, a few years ago, that it was not best that poverty should be abolished. It was to be looked upon as a training-school for the people that are poor (though it is a school appreciated generally by those people who do not attend it), and also as an opportunity for the training and culture of a kind of dilettante piety that congratulates itself on its charities. Ordinarily, too much cannot be said against poverty. There is no good in this world except through the accumulation of something that lifts the level of civilization out of the slough of poverty. Poverty means, not only a starvation of all that is animal, but of all that is manly and all that is angelic. It is one of the grand curses of the world that civilization is always instinctively fighting against; and

the world will never be completely civilized until it has put poverty under foot.

I wish now to trace, as fully as my time will allow, some of the causes of poverty. There is a certain class of causes for which the individual may or may not be responsible. There are causes to be referred to the universe, things that are beyond human control. There are, for example, large numbers of people who are born in such a way that they are permanently broken in life. They are not strong enough to fight the battle of the world. They are the cripples left behind on the march. They are those who are carried to the rear to be taken care of, because they are not able to keep up with their fellows. This condition of broken physical health may or may not be the fault of the person himself. He may have brought it on by breaking ignorantly the laws of life or he may have inherited it. Perhaps his father and mother were responsible, or some remote ancestor, or he may owe it to a source which cannot be distinctly traced. Whatever its origin, this is one of the great causes of poverty.

There is another cause, mental incapacity, general incompetence. There are people in the world concerning whom the only thing you can say is that, while you cannot locate the difficulty, they seem to have no faculty. They have no ability to get ahead. Two men will stand side by side apparently surrounded by the same opportunities. One of them will see a chance which the other is blind to. He will seize it, and leave the other far behind; while that other, even if he see the chance, grasps it with so feeble a hold that it slips through his hands, and he is able to make nothing of it. I know many men and women who are all that is mild and sweet and true and noble; but they have no faculty for getting on, no practical ability. Here is another cause, then, of poverty, for which they perhaps are not responsible.

Then there is still another fact which the person may or may not be responsible for. There are large numbers of people at almost any time in the history of the world in every nation out of work, suffering for the necessities and comforts of life, because they fail to get an opportunity. Places are crowded. A merchant told me the other day, when I was speaking to him in regard to getting a place for a man who was out of a situation, that a friend of his advertised for a book-keeper, and received in reply a basketful of applications, perhaps two hundred in all, for that one position. This may be owing to the general condition of society for which no particular individual is responsible, or there may be some who are in this condition because of their own fault. I have no very great amount of pity for a young man in good health, with good ability, who stays around a great city out of employment, suffering for lack of something to do, when there is abundant field somewhere else that he might enter if he chose, only he wishes to hang about Boston. For a man like that, I should not waste any charity either in thought or money.

But, when we have passed by these causes for which the individual at any rate may not be responsible, we come to another class; and it is the idea that underlies this which I wish to emphasize, first, last, and all the way through, this morning. The causes that I am to speak of now are moral causes. The cause of poverty, personal and national as well, is always a moral cause, after we have left out of account those over which the individual has no control. This is not an economic question simply. It is not a political question. It is not a labor question, in the abstract sense of that word. It is a moral question, it is a question of right and wrong nine times out of ten, ninety-nine times in a hundred; and it is because it is this that I claim the right to bring it to your consideration here this morning.

Let us note some of the principal causes of poverty. First, idleness. I suppose none of us have any great amount of affection for work. Other things being equal, perhaps we would not work so hard, at any rate, as we do. Perhaps we would not do the particular things that we now regard as our proper tasks. I have no fault to find with these dispositions of ours. And any man who has earned the right to rest, who has earned the right to drop the drudgery of life and enter upon some of the higher occupations, that concern themselves with the intellectual, the moral, the spiritual development of humanity, I think is not only entitled to do it, but I question whether he ought not to do it.

As an illustration, let me say, in a word, that I believe there is hardly any other one thing that would help the development of the world more than just this. Suppose the men who are engaged in active business, so soon as they acquire a competency, so that they could live easily without fear of the future, should retire. There would be two results, if they were wise. In the first place, they would get out of the way, and give somebody else an opportunity after they had acquired all that they needed. In the next place, they might become a grand organized army of civilization. Suppose we had in every one of our great cities a hundred retired men able to live on their income who should devote themselves, not to making money which they do not need, but to cultivating and developing the higher sides of civilization, studying them, working, co-operating with all things that promise well for the future of man. Think what a tremendous power might thus be exerted for the uplifting of the race. Such idleness is not always a sin nor a fault: it may be a virtue. It is a fault only when a man is not willing to work to earn his own share of the good things of the world;

when he has an opportunity to work, and will not. There are any number of these persons, armies of them, wandering at times through the civilized world, living on their wits, and at last sinking of necessity under the principle of moral gravitation down into the slums and into the outcast and criminal classes. They begin as criminals by thieving on the general welfare of society. They end in their own place. For this class of people, I have no special pity. I waste no sympathy on them. I believe with Paul that, if a man *will* not work, neither should he eat. A little wholesome hunger, a little wholesome suffering, ought by right to come to this class of people as the natural result of their conduct.

Another cause is thriftlessness, waste. I wish that this thought could be impressed on the minds of all the young men of America; for I see them so thoughtless concerning it, and I see so easily what must be the outcome. I am told, on what claims to be good authority, although I have not verified the figures, that only about three per cent. of the business men of the world come to their old age with a secure competence to put them beyond any thought of care. All the rest of them are more or less dependent on somebody else. Yet there is no sort of need of this. In the reading-room of a hotel in Worcester the other night, I saw what is going on all over the country on the part of the young men. Two or three young men were sitting there. They were commercial travellers, I take it, and they were wondering what they would do that evening; and one of them said, "Let us go to the dime museum." The others agreed; and so they started out. There may have been nothing bad in the dime museum; but the point I wish to show is that our young men are not learning to save. They are not thinking of saving as a matter of any importance, much less thinking of it as a fundamental principle of

morality; for it is just that. There is no need of our young men's coming to old age without any provision for ease and quiet and freedom from care, if they are only willing to think while they are young, and to prepare for it. There is not a young man in this country earning a decent day's wages who cannot save something out of that, I do not care how small it is. Young men have gone through college, because they were anxious to go, and lived on a quarter part of what the young business men of Boston live on to-day. All the young business men of Boston could live on less, if they made it a matter of manhood to get on their feet, to master the forces of the future.

Then there is the waste that comes from vice. A large part of the poverty of the world has vice for its root. There are thousands of persons who work only as much as they have to; and the moment they get anything they spend it on vices, many men even taking the wages of their wives and little children and wasting them on vice. A friend of mine, a young man in the Divinity School, attempted to assist a man of this kind. The poor man came and told him a pitiable story; and he gave him a suit of clothes, found him work at seven dollars a week, and made himself responsible for the payment of his first week's board, and congratulated himself that he had done a good thing. The man worked a week, got his seven dollars, and went off on a spree. He pawned the clothes, and left this friend to pay the board bill. This is the way in which thousands of people sink at last into hopeless poverty and degradation. Nearly all the poverty of the world — aside from that caused by forces beyond personal control — springs from idleness, thriftlessness, waste, or vice,—almost all.

Now let me turn to a few principles concerning national poverty. I have no time to deal with this subject as it

ought to be dealt with, and as I would like to treat it ; but I will note a few principles.

People become so easily befogged, when they pass from the individual to a group of individuals, that they forget that the same principle holds in regard to men in the mass as to the single man. A gentleman of intelligence and culture argued in my study the other day that it was a good thing for a nation to be in debt. If it is a good thing for a nation, why is it not a good thing for the individual? The principle is precisely the same. It is utter, thoughtless folly. People forget that a nation in its corporate capacity can bring about a condition of general depression, weakness, incapacity, and then suffer just as the individual suffers. A nation goes through a period of excitement and terrific intoxication, losing, perhaps, three or four or five years, and wakes up at last to a financial crash, a long period of depression ; and people seem utterly at a loss to find out the cause of it. If a man goes off on a drunk over night and spends all his money and has a headache the next morning, there is no special mystery about it. People forget that a nation can do the same. The world, as I have said before, is living from hand to mouth all the time. We should starve in two or three years, were all production to cease. I question, if all the civilized nations were called upon suddenly to pay their debts, whether the civilized world would not be bankrupt. The world is not over-rich, then, or would not be, if it paid its bills. There are causes of national poverty over which the individual nation can have no control, the same as in regard to individual poverty. A nation may inhabit a country whose resources are meagre, so that it may be unable to develop much wealth. There may be other causes ; but, after you have excluded those causes over

which the wisdom and character and conduct of people have no control, the reasons for bad times, for financial crises, for commercial distress, are moral every time in the case of a nation just as much as in the case of the individual; and they are causes which, if we were wise and self-controlled enough, could be prevented as well in the nation as in the case of the individual.

Take it in regard to the six great nations of Europe at the present time,—Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, England. Their expenditure is so enormous that the war tax resulting from it amounts to as much as fifty three or four dollars for every family in all those nations in Europe. Fifty three or four dollars every year comes as a war-tax out of every single family in those six great nations. Between three and four millions of men in these six nations are set apart for the work of soldiers. Their business is to be ready to kill somebody, if he needs to be killed. That is all. These men are taken right out of the work of production; and, when you make a fair estimate for the cost of keeping up this tremendous armament, the number of people whose industry is required to support these armies amounts to as much as themselves. We have, then, to estimate that there are as many as seven millions of men taken right out of the productive industries of Europe, in order to keep the nations on this war footing. Is it any wonder that, with such an enormous waste as this, there come, now and then, hard times, commercial crises, depressions? The wealth of a people depends on two simple things,—on how much it earns and how much it saves,—just as the wealth of the individual depends upon how much he earns and how much he saves. If a nation wastes such an enormous amount in unproductive directions, so much is taken out of the necessary means for living and for general

culture and comfort. That is all. It is as plain as twice two are four.

In this country, we talk about the United States as being very rich ; but we are enormously burdened with debt. Are you aware of the fact that we are carrying, here in America, on the average, about twice as heavy a burden of debt as the people of England ? And yet Congress is talking, every little while, of spending a few more millions or a hundred millions in some direction, as though we were able to do it. These burdens have to be carried, and these bills to be paid.

Take it again in regard to our national vices, and see the waste in this direction. You know that I am no fanatic in regard to the temperance question ; but I am appalled when I look at the figures. Here, in America, we pay nearly twice as much for drink of all kinds as we pay for bread. And we pay more than ten times as much for our saloons as we do for public education. These figures are very eloquent, when you look at them in this way. When you consider this serious burden of national debt caused by the war, the waste of drink, and the thousand other vices, the misappropriation of public money in directions not needed for the public good, the theft of public money in every direction, and when you add the amount tied up in unproductive ventures, is it any wonder that the nation can sometimes get poor and crippled in its resources ?

Then, again, sometimes we are blinded by the fact that there is apparently plenty of money. A lady asked me, last evening, with the paper in her hand, what it meant by the statement that money was "cheap." Although ministers are not supposed to understand much about business matters, I think most business men would indorse me in saying that the fact that money is cheap is not a specially healthy

sign. It means that there is no very great opportunity for investment; that people do not find outlets for their ready money that are safe and that promise a good return; and that, therefore, they are a little timid, and are holding it back. They are willing to let it go for small interest to perfectly secure investments. Go into a part of the country where business is "booming," as we say, where every man is prosperous, and money never is cheap there. Like all other commodities, it is high.

It seems to me, then, if we look carefully at this matter of personal and of national poverty,—and it bears very directly on all the social problems that we are facing at the present time,—we shall find that the causes are almost always moral. An individual is poor, a nation is poor, because the individual or the nation has disregarded the eternal laws of God's righteousness. Industry, that kind of industry which goes along with honesty in earning and paying for what we have; the proper use of those things that come into our possession; the spending only for things that conduce to the general or personal welfare; the use of money as you use any other faculty and power, in the light of conscience and truth,—when we attain an attitude like this toward the general question, when we are ready to recognize these facts and principles and live them out in the light of the right and the wrong, then we shall be on the road to the abolition of poverty, and to the lifting up of the civilization of the world into a general condition of prosperity and power, and the possibility of ever higher and higher development. But we cannot prosper financially any more than any other way, in defiance of the laws of God. God is not mocked in Wall Street and State Street any more than in the Church. Whatsoever a man soweth, whatsoever a nation soweth, that shall it also reap.

THE DIMINUTION OF EVILS

JUST what do we mean, when we talk about social evils? We use the terms "good" and "evil" with a great deal of freedom; but perhaps we do not often measure our words or analyze their significance.

Almost anything may be possible, if only life may continue, and with life opportunity may remain. But, if existence ceases, with it is blotted out all possibility of all desirable things. For the individual, then, the first good of all is life, because this is the one indispensable condition of all other good. The first and highest conceivable end of any living thing then must be—living. But this living is not mere existence, mere duration, though this is the prime condition of everything else. Living is only the blank form. What will you fill it out with? What will you put in it?

The next thing, then, after living, is the contents of the life. It needs to be complete, full, after its kind. A complete life of a tree is one thing. The complete life of an oyster, a fish, bird, dog, horse, is another thing; that of a man, still another, and unspeakably a higher thing. The most possible, according to the nature, is the demand. It is good for a fish or an animal to be all it can be, as fish or animal. The more sides of its being that are devel-

oped, the wider, the larger its life, the more it comes in contact with, the more sensations and experiences, the more it lives. So of a man: he not only needs to live, but it is good for him that his life be filled out on all sides, below and above. If he lives only an animal life, he knows only the animal range. There are possibilities in him of heart, of brain, of soul, so linking him with the dust at his feet and the heavens that stoop to kiss his brow. His natural range is from the abyss to the empyrean, from brute to God. And, as a diamond with many facets flashes back the rays that fall on it from every quarter of the heavens, so does a complete man answer to all the outshinings of the universe.

But one point more. Not only duration and fulness: these may exist, and still life be only the possibility of good. The life must be so attuned to its conditions as, when played upon, to give out the music of happiness, or the existence may be an evil.

Life, full life, happy life,—this, then, is the ideal. Whatever conduces to this is good. Whatever threatens this is evil.

This of the individual life. And a precisely similar thing is true of that organism larger than the individual that we call society. Whatever threatens its existence; whatever takes away from the fulness, the many-sidedness, the completeness of its development; whatever, in the long run and on the whole, diminishes the sum of its happiness,—this is a social evil. And whatever ministers to its continuance, to its completeness, its happiness,—that is a social good.

Man individual, man social, instinctively and necessarily shrinks from and fights against that which he dislikes or regards as injurious. He may make mistakes; his taste may be

perverted ; or he may be under the power of passion, so that he may choose to feed some lower hunger at the expense of starving the higher. But, on the whole, the ages through, this old race of ours has been dominated by and has pursued an ideal not yet attained. It has striven after ever better and better things. It has been goaded on by an unappeasable hunger for life, for fuller life, for happier life. However foolish or mistaken it may have been, this, after all, has been the secret of all its struggles, its upheavals, its overturnings. And this is the meaning of the restlessness all about us to-day.

The question now faces us, Has this age-long struggle come to anything, and does it promise anything for the future? Are the social evils of the world diminished? Are the goods increased?

It is sometimes a trick of reformers to paint the actual condition of things in the blackest of possible colors, in their legitimate effort to rouse and stimulate the purpose of the age to rid itself of some abuse. But this must not be carried too far, or the very hope of reform is taken away. If things are growing worse and worse, then it must be that the majority power of the universe is evil ; and there is little chance that our puny endeavor will stay the downward drift of affairs. If, after two hundred thousand years of human life on earth, our social evils are as widespread and stubborn as of old, then let us creep through life as quietly as we may, snatch what comfort we can as we go along, but not waste our substance or disturb our peace in Quixotic efforts after the impossible. But, if we are gradually improving, however slow the process, then indeed it may be worth our while to "work together with God" for the bringing in of that reign of good that shall realize our dream. It seems clear to me that, though altogether too

slowly to keep step with our impatience, the world is growing better. The social evils of the world are being diminished.

A frowning cliff hangs heavy over the sea. It is a place of wreck ; for ship after ship is driven against it, and goes to pieces. It looks as though it might stand forever. Only the eternal sea breaks at its base, and washes against it year after year. But, little by little, it crumbles ; and, by and by, some mighty storm hurls all the ocean at its seeming security, that has seen so many storms waste their useless rage, and it topples and falls. The next day's waters sing over a place of security and peace. The dark power of winter seems as drearily mighty in March sometimes as in January. And even the April air has in it the chill and sting that tell of winter near and summer far away. But the tiny sunbeams are at their work ; and some soft morning the first bud is out, and before we know it spring tosses the fields full of blossoms, and the birds sing as though they had always been making the trees tremble with their joy.

Like these yearly and secular changes of the earth are the steps of human advance. Evils stand and frown ; they fill the air with chill and death ; they seem as permanent as man himself. But the slow processes of good increase, and at last culminate in some mighty crisis of change ; and the world is ever after brighter and nobler, a better place to live in. Little improvement may be seen from one year to another. But a wider and longer sweep of vision, that takes in a course of ages, shows wonderful advance. I propose to point out some signs of progress to be seen by a rapid glance over the period covered by historic time.

But, as preparatory to that, this question : What shall we take as signs of the diminution of evil and the increase of good ? We will keep close to the definitions indicated at

the outset. Life, full life, happy life,—this is the *summum bonum*, the highest good. Whatever threatens and endangers this is evil: whatever conduces to this is good.

The feelings of fear and hate then, tending toward despair, indicate the presence of the recognized enemies of human well-being. The feelings of trust and love, tending toward hope, indicate the presence of the recognized friends of human well-being. The diminution, therefore, of fear, hate, and despair, and the growth of trust, love, and hope,—these are a sure indication of one of two things: either that the power and number of the enemies that threaten human welfare are diminishing or else that man's power of mastery over them has grown until they no longer frighten him. Such a growth as this during historic time seems to me perfectly plain. And this alone is demonstration of the diminution of social evils.

Let us now note some indications of this progress.

1. And, first, it is apparent in our increased mastery over the conditions of physical existence. Our doctors do not know everything; and sometimes, in the presence of a friend sinking hopelessly away from us in spite of all our science and experience, we feel as though disease and death were as much masters of the world as ever. And, in one sense, perhaps they are. But we have at least mitigated the horrors of disease, and have postponed the coming of death. We have learned largely to master pain. In the old days, diseases were demons or the mysterious workings of magic, over which their victims had little control. These superstitious horrors are gone. And, if we cannot be rid of death,—and I think no wise man would even wish this,—we have learned to prolong life to somewhat nearer its natural term. During the last thousand years, the average duration of human life, at least, has doubled. In regard to these physi-

cal conditions of existence fear plays ever a smaller part, and trust and hope are growing.

2. The same thing is apparent as reflected in religion. Religion in some form has always dominated the life of man. And the dominant power in it in all the past has been fear. Rarely have men loved their gods; for rarely have they been lovable. They have seen and felt the presence of mighty forces, of which they have been afraid. Power has been the main characteristic of these celestial despots. They have kept the world in awe; their weapons being the lightning, the thunder, hail, storm, cold, earthquake, and pestilence. Of men they have demanded abject humiliation and irksome service. Men have entreated them for mercy, placated their wrath, bribed their cupidity, catered to their lust, been in all ways the slaves of their tyranny. Men have feared them, hated them, and looked forward to meeting them with dread and despair.

But many of these old gods are dead, and many more are dying. All along, by the side of man's historic pathway upward, are smokeless altars and ruined temples. The cruel gods of India live only in the superstitious fears of a few. Isis, Osiris, and Horus sleep with the dreamless Sphinx on the banks of Nile. There are only ashes in the once red-hot Moloch, and his arms to-day are cold. Odin no longer drinks the blood of his enemies in Walhalla; and Thor's hammer is no more heard reverberating in the Norseland mountains. And Jupiter is now only

"... a painted Jove,"

The "idle thunder in his lifted hand."

And Dagon, who once fell before "the ark of Jehovah," now finds both ark and Jehovah beside him in the dust; for the Jehovah of the early Hebrews is as dead as any pagan idol

of them all. He tried to live for ages in the Church, baptized a Christian; but now he sleeps in undisturbed repose in rusty and dust-covered treatises of theology that only serve to teach us gratitude for what we have outgrown. The God of Christendom is coming ever more and more to be a love that works through a law that is only beneficent and onreaching order. The dominant voice of religion to-day is the music of love and the inspiration of hope. The fear and the hate are gone or going; and the wail of a deathless despair is fading out even from that future that once was only the glooming shadow of an eternal wrath.

3. A similar truth is uttered by the dominant moral ideal of the age.

At first, physical force was supreme in the world; love had little voice, and pity was rarely heard. It was a reign of brutal power. Then brain became mightier than muscle, at first, perhaps, as mere cunning, but later as knowledge; and wisdom made brawn its servant. To-day, the moral sense of the world is the mightiest force, whether in the individual or the national life. Both men and nations do wrong; but they seek to conceal it. They dare not brave the force of the world's moral opinion and feeling. Stronger than teeth or claws or fists; stronger than cunning or thought; stronger than kings or cabinets; stronger than guns or fleets, the moral ideal, the sense of right and wrong, sways its sceptre of justice over individuals and nations, and is slowly lifting the world to itself.

This fact alone seems to me to demonstrate the world-supremacy of good over all the forms and forces of evil.

And then, within the sphere of morals itself, a significant change goes on. Fear, threat, penalty, plays ever a smaller and smaller part as moral motive; while the luring loveliness of right, and her whisper of happiness and peace, grow

ever stronger to move and mould the actions and the characters of men.

4. Then in the political life of the world, what advance !

Government is no longer for the sake of kings ; and people are not, as they used to be, only slaves to be worked, victims to be taxed, or raw material for armies. Kingdoms are not chiefly for conquest or the aggrandizement or glory of warriors. In theory at least, and as fact in the last resort, the people rule. In the words of Theodore Parker (who first originated the phrase), modified by Lincoln, it is "government of the people, and by the people, and for the people." Government is coming more and more to fulfil its true function, that of social protection ; while the people are left free to live out their true life unhindered and in their own way. The iron hand still exists, but it is gloved with velvet ; and only the ever-lessening number of law-breakers ever find out that it is iron at all. It no longer claims the right of vengeance ; but, in even its punishment, it is merciful, protecting the peaceful and honest from the remaining barbarism of the few. Fear and hate are fading : trust and hope abide.

5. And then, in spite of temporary disturbances, an unbiassed vision cannot fail to see these same indications in the industrial world.

He cannot look back very far who fails to see a diminution of evils in social industry. One need not go very far back among our English ancestors to find the laborer a serf, belonging to and passed from master to master with the soil. So rare was meat on the tables of the wage-workers, no more than fifty years ago in England, that, when some one in Cobden's presence expressed the hope that some day all the people might become intelligent enough to read Bacon, he replied that he should be happy if the time ever came when all the people could *eat* bacon. As

a plain matter of fact, most of the common people of America to-day possess more of the elements of home comfort and happiness than were accessible to even a queen in the age of Elizabeth. Most farm-houses and cottages are fuller of all that goes to feed the wants of body, brain, and heart than was Holyrood Castle, the palace of Mary, Queen of Scots.

It may be true that the immense advance in invention and discovery has not benefited all so much as it might; but that it has benefited all, and benefited them immensely, only ignorance will deny. The increased mastery of nature's forces and the consequent increase of production, resulting in the cheapening and the wider distribution of products, have brought to the doors of even the poor a thousand comforts that in the past were inaccessible even to the rich. If we will get over our rage to be rich, and will not overlook the grand things that are ours, because of some things that we do not yet possess, I think the most of us wage-workers (for I belong to that class) can join with much patience and some cheer in the song of Charles Mackay, entitled "Daily Work":—

Who lags for dread of daily work,
And his appointed task would shirk,
Commits a folly and a crime,—
A soulless slave, a paltry knave,
A clog upon the wheel of time.
With work to do, and store of health,
The man's unworthy to be free
Who will not give, that he may live,
His daily toil for daily fee.

No! Let us work! We only ask
Reward proportioned to our task;
We have no quarrel with the great,—
No feud with rank, with mill or bank,
No envy of a lord's estate.

If we can earn sufficient store
To satisfy our daily need,
And can retain, for age and pain,
A fraction, we are rich, indeed.

No dread of toil have we or ours :
We know our worth, and weigh our powers.
The more we work, the more we win.
Success to trade ! success to spade !
And to the corn that's coming in !
And joy to him, whate'er his task,
Remembering toil is Nature's plan,
Who, working, thinks, and never sinks
His independence as a man !

Who only asks for humblest wealth,—
Enough for competence and health ;
And leisure, when his work is done,
To read his book by chimney nook,
Or stroll at setting of the sun ;
Who toils, as every man should toil,
For fair reward, erect and free.
These are the men, the best of men :
These are the men we mean to be.

6. And then, far as we are from an ideal condition of society, there is ever less and less of vice, of crime, of cruelty. The animal is farther away ; and the human more and more predominates. So beyond all rational question is this, that he who doubts if it be a fact thereby shows that he has not made himself familiar with the course and trend of man's development.

The social evils of the world, then, are diminishing. If the process is slow, at any rate it is sure. Such being the case, life may have a purpose and a meaning for all of us ; and we may work under the inspiration of hope. He who is for the right has the majority force of the universe behind him.

This fact is now formulated and demonstrated for us in the scientific theory of evolution. For evolution is nothing more nor less than a statement of the methods by which the world has come to be what it is, and by which humanity climbs up the ages to the summits of civilization.

But I need to say a few words here as to the real significance of this law of progress ; for, by many, it is misunderstood. Large numbers seem to suppose that it means that there is in the world a sort of necessity of progress, whether they or any others do anything about it or not. So carelessness, both as to accurate knowledge and earnest effort, is encouraged.

It is true that the force that underlies the evolution of the world does mean a necessity for progress ; but it does not mean that all things and everybody shall progress. For dissolution, the decay and dying out of forms of life, of individuals, of institutions, of nations, is just as much a part of the process as is their advance. For example, in every plot of grass this spring there will be going on a struggle for life and the survival of the fittest. Not all seeds will sprout ; not all sprouts will thrive and come to full development. The force at work determines that there shall be growth, progress, but only of certain blades. Which ones must progress, and which ones must die ? The ones that are able to comply with the conditions of soil and moisture and sunshine will live and grow : the rest must perish. And the perishing is as much a part of the process as the growing.

So precisely is it in regard to man and all the works and institutions of humanity. It is competition everywhere. Those social arrangements, those industrial organizations, those men, those classes, those nations that are wise enough to discover the laws, the conditions of life, and that are obedient to them,—those will live and advance, will perpetuate

themselves and possess the earth. Those that fail in this, either through lack of wisdom or lack of obedience, must dwindle and die away. A law of progress? Yes. A necessity for advance? Yes. But only so far as those are concerned who know and who obey.

The simple fact, then, that institutions and men and peoples retrograde and dissolve and die out, does not prove that the law of progress does not hold, and is no ground for discouragement as to the diminution of social evils. Indeed, this decay and death are a part of the law of progress, the very ground for our hope. For our social evils are results of our failure to comply with the laws of true and healthful life, and are therefore the very things that in the long run are doomed to perish and pass away.

On what ground of absolute certainty do we rest our hope in this matter? On this. As I have had occasion to tell you before, the simple fact that society exists is proof positive that the conserving forces, the humane forces, the forces of life and health, the forces we call good, are in the majority. Were this not true, there would be no such thing as society. If the disintegrating forces in an oak-tree were in the majority, the oak would die,—there would be no oak. And if, now, the oak not only lives, but is growing, becoming a larger and completer oak, then it is clear that the life forces are greatly in the majority. Now, society not only exists, but age by age it is continually growing better. Intelligence is increasing. Health and length of life are increasing. Love and kindness and all the human qualities are increasing. The things that minister to all the higher wants of man are increasing. It is then clear, not only that the forces of life and growth—what we call good—are in the majority, but that they are in such a majority that they are progressively mastering

the evil more and more, developing ever a higher and better order of things.

Now, what is the impelling force that is at work lifting and leading in this onward and upward march of society? There is power at work; and the power is manifestly wise and good. Am I not right, then, in calling this power God? Such a power is what I mean by the term "God"; and I know no better name for it. Let us, then, say freely and fearlessly God is lifting and leading on the world. His methods may not be always such as we would use; he may not be in so much haste as we would be; but the process is certainly going on. And it is quite possible that a deeper insight and a wider sweep of vision over the course of human history might make us content to leave things at the disposal of this power, and make us less confident of our ability to govern the world more wisely than it is already being governed.

We have climbed then (have we not?) to a point of outlook from which we can see that social evils are diminishing, that the world is growing ever to better, however slowly; and we may rest, as we stand here, on the conviction that a wise and loving Power is at work lifting and leading the ages on to this issue. May we not, then, join once more with the poet Mackay, and this time chant his song of hope for "The Good Time Coming"?—

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming:
We may not live to see the day,
But earth shall glisten in the ray
Of the good time coming.
Cannon-balls may aid the truth,
But thought's a weapon stronger:
We'll win our battle by its aid,—
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming :
The pen shall supersede the sword :
And Right, not Might, shall be the lord
In the good time coming.
Worth, not birth, shall rule mankind,
And be acknowledged stronger :
The proper impulse has been given,—
Wait a little longer.

.
There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming :
The people shall be temperate,
And shall love instead of hate,
In the good time coming.
They shall use, and not abuse,
And make all virtue stronger :
The reformation has begun,—
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming :
Let us aid it all we can,
Every woman, every man,—
The good time coming.
Smallest helps, if rightly given,
Make the impulse stronger :
'Twill be strong enough one day,—
Wait a little longer.

The process is going on. We can defeat it, so far as we are concerned,—that is, if we will, we can break the laws of life, and die ; we can break the laws of growth, and stagnate. We can co-operate with these forces, and have all their might at our back.

And, so far as society is concerned, we may either hinder or help. The good time, if it ever comes, will come through knowledge and obedience,—knowing the laws of life, obey-

ing the laws of life. There is no other way: there is no patent process. The way to help, then, is plain.

1. The first step is one of disposition. We must be willing not only to know the way of justice and right, but to walk in it. Prejudice and passion may cause a blindness that no oculist can reach.

2. Then you must practise what you see, and take the next step that seems right, whether you can see any further or not. It is often true that, in following a blind path, it opens only as you go on. The next step may make the third one plain.

3. Then you must learn to be patient with slow results. We need to learn that we cannot do a great deal, but that this fact does not excuse us from doing what we can.

4. We must not trust too much to the machinery of laws and institutions. These are only weapons in the hands of persons, and will be used with no more wisdom than that which the persons possess. The world is always only the sum of its units, so being good or bad as its individuals are good or bad.

5. Then, whatever others do, you seek to know the laws of right and wrong in your own life, and see to it that you obey them.

A coral reef is growing beneath the sea. It is the sum total of the infinitesimals that compose it. It lifts as each tiny creature adds to it the accumulated result of its own life-work. It is only a little that each can either help or hinder; but it can help or hinder that little. The process seems very long; but the world is in no hurry. By and by, however, it shall lift above the sea; it shall wave with palm-trees; it shall blossom with a million flowers; and the sun, as it smiles upon it, shall see it the home of countless happy lives.

So, under the restless and moaning sea of our present troubles, the process of building, of growth, goes on. The grand outcome may not be in our day, but we may at least contribute to it; and so the civilization of the future, the happy ages of prosperous men and women may be, in part, our work. Let us do our work well here on the foundations so that the superstructure shall stand secure.







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